

THE JOURNAL OF BYELORUSSIAN STUDIES

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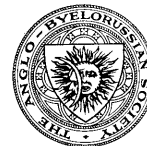
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ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST
(From the Kucieina New Testament and Psalter of 1652)

The language of the Kucieina New Testament and Psalter of 1652

BY
H. LEEMING

I

The Byelorussian community in London is one of the most active of all immigrant communities. It has added to the amenities of the capital a unique library and museum; it has successfully launched and continues to publish a learned journal of international standing. I am happy to be associated in some small way with these activities as a contributor to the Journal of Byelorussian Studies and to the course in Byelorussian culture.

It was in the Francis Skaryna Library that I was introduced to the book which is the subject of this article. Its title in the original is *Novyj zavět Gospoda Našego I[su]s Ch[ri]st[a], s nemže i psalmyr*. I shall refer to it as the Kucieina New Testament. The bibliographer of Russian Church Slavonic mediaeval publications, I. Karatajev,¹ tells us that in some copies it bore on the reverse of the title page the coat-of-arms of Michail Stetkevič, a Byelorussian nobleman, with a short poem dedicated to him. There was also a preface by Abbot Ioil' (Joel) Trucevič, dedicating the book to Stetkevič.

The copy in the Francis Skaryna Library is dedicated to another dignitary, namely Bishop Iosif (Joseph) Gorbackij of Viciebsk, Mscislaŭ, Orša and Mahiloŭ. His coat-of-arms is on the reverse of the title page with a dedicatory poem of four rhyming couplets in syllabic verse, and the book is dedicated to him in a rather fulsome and overblown preface.

The copy is in a good state of preservation and very few pages are damaged.² The first 6 leaves are unnumbered. The Psalter has 126 numbered leaves; the New Testament has 500 numbered in a new sequence.³ A previous owner has written in pencil the numbers of the leaves in an unbroken sequence from the beginning to the end.

Each of the gospels is preceded by a woodcut showing the appropriate evangelist at his writing table. Two are shown holding writing implements. Of these one, St. Matthew, is right-handed; St. John, the mystic, is left-handed. We cannot tell whether Mark and Luke were right or left-handed, since they are depicted in an ambidextrous activity — opening, or holding open a book. The book of psalms is preceded by a woodcut of King David. Three of the woodcuts bear

a date — 1651, that is one year before the publication of the whole book.

From the point of view of the philologist the great interest of the Kucieina New Testament and Psalter lies in the vernacular material contained in the preface, the dedicatory poem, chapter headings and marginal commentary. A complete analysis of this is beyond the scope of the present paper, which is based on a reading of part of the commentary, plus the dedication and preface. Before proceeding to the linguistic discussion it would not be out of place to say something about the Kucieina printing press and about Abbot Joel Trucevič, writer of the preface and publisher of the book.

II

The history of the Kucieina press seems to begin with the founding of a printing-house in the Podol district of Kiev by Timofej Aleksandrovič in 1625.⁴ This passed into the hands of Spiridon Sobol' who in 1630 moved the press to the Kucieina monastery where he published a psalter. In 1635 Sobol' himself moved on to Bujniči in the district of Mahiloŭ and the monks of Kucieina monastery now founded their own press, printing various books, to some of which Abbot Joel contributed prefaces.⁵

The meagre facts concerning Trucevič are given in the standard works of reference.⁶ We are told that he was the founder and abbot of the Kucieina monastery near Orša, and that he opened a school and printing press there. He was favourably disposed, it is said, to the union of Byelorussia and Muscovy. Of his birth and early life nothing is known. We know that he died in 1654, on his way to the Iverskij Monastery near Valdaĵ in the Novgorod region, about 260 miles north-north-east of Orša. According to historians of the Russian Orthodox Church Abbot Joel had been invited by Patriarch Nikon to the newly founded monastery but fell ill on the way there. Realising that he would not survive the journey, but eager none the less to respect Nikon's wishes, he asked that his bones should be conveyed without delay to the place his obedient heart yearned for. 'Even in death', he said, 'I will still maintain my obedience to my pastor.' As quoted by the historians, Abbot Joel's last words, as befits such a solemn occasion, were spoken in the Church Slavonic language.⁷

The monastery to which Joel and his brethren had been invited was a new foundation, set up by Nikon in 1653 on the model of the Iverian monastery at Mount Athos. In L. I. Denisov's work describing the orthodox monasteries of Russia, its full title is given as 'Iverskij Bogorodickij Svjatojezerskij Monastyr', in other words the Iverian Monastery of Our Lady at the Holy Lake.⁸ Nikon himself had chosen the site, one of three islands on the Valdaĵ lake, captivated by its beauty. After Nikon's deposition in 1666 an ecclesiastical court came to the conclusion that the foundation had not been in line with the rules or directives of the holy fathers of the church, whereupon all further building was interrupted, the monks were dispersed among other

monasteries and even the name of the monastery was deleted (*uničtoženo*). Two years later some of its rights were restored, and in due course it became a monastery of the first class.

The Kucieina press had been transferred with the brethren to the Iverskij Monastery in 1657. There it had a short working life until, on the closure of the monastery in 1666, it was removed to the Voskresenskij Novyj Iĵerusalem monastery, about 40 miles west of Moscow, near Zvenigorod.⁹

We catch a rare glimpse of Abbot Joel in the journal of Afanasij Filipovič, abbot of Brest, written in 1646.¹⁰ Here Afanasij records the help and advice given him by Joel and the deputy abbot, Iosif Surta, when he was attempting to make his way from Pinsk to Moscow. Hearing Afanasij's account of a miraculous sign from Heaven Joel quoted to him the words of St. John of Damascus, that the laws of nature are confounded with the aid of the Blessed Virgin.

But while Joel may have been impressed by Afanasij's story he would not supply him with the letter of recommendation to Moscow which he had requested. Was this because he did not feel he knew Afanasij well enough to recommend him? Was it because of the intervention of some of the other brethren? Afanasij records the fact that Joel conferred with the other monks before refusing him. Or is it possible that this apparent reluctance to help was due to a lack of sympathy for Afanasij's cause? This would cast some doubt on the traditional picture of Joel as a protagonist for the union of Byelorussia and Muscovy.

On advice from Surta, Afanasij attempted to make his way to Moscow via Skłou, Mahiloŭ and Hałoučĭn, after obtaining from Joel letters of recommendation to the senior clergy and the orthodox confraternities. But these documents apparently did not carry much weight, since Afanasij received no help at all. Dispirited he returned to Kucieina monastery to report failure. This time Surta recommended yet another route. Abbot Joel blessed him before his departure and gave him a letter of introduction to Prince Peter Trubeckoj. Perhaps after all it was rather fear of betrayal and retribution that was the cause of Joel's earlier reluctance to help. It had been Afanasij's original intention to travel to Moscow via Smolensk and if such compromising documents had fallen into the hands of the Poles the consequences might have been uncomfortable for Abbot Joel and his brethren.

III

Examining the Kucieina New Testament from the philologist's point of view we distinguish without difficulty two languages: the traditional Church Slavonic of the biblical text and the East Slavonic of the dedication, prefaces, chapter headings and commentary.

Firstly, a few words might be said about the Church Slavonic text. Not only time but also space intervenes between Old Church Slavonic of 11th-century Bulgaria, Macedonia or Moravia and the Church Slavonic of 17th-century Byelorussia. Characteristics of the East Slavonic dialects have supplanted quite a number of the

features of the South Slavonic language we call Old Church Slavonic. Even in the earliest surviving East Slavonic book, the Ostromir Gospel-Book, a collection of the readings from the gospels for Sundays and other important days in the church's calendar, features of the scribe's dialect creep into his version of Old Church Slavonic, for example the letters called *jusy*, originally representing nasal vowels, are confused with *u* and *ja*. The Church Slavonic of the Kucieina New Testament represents naturally a stage of further divergence. One of the aspects of such innovation which would probably repay further investigation is the position of the stress in numerous words. The following examples were noted. In each case the form met in the Synodal edition of the Church Slavonic Bible is given after that of the Kucieina New Testament: *mojégo* / *mojegó*; *ugotovájte* / *ugotóvajte*; *propovédája* / *propovédaja*; / *grě'chov* / *grěchóv*; *strána* / *straná*; *négo* / *negó*; *vozljublénnyj* / *vozljublennyyj*; *so zvě'rmi* / *so zvěrmí*; *približisja* / *približisja*.¹¹

IV

The title page, the dedicatory poem, the two prefaces, the chapter headings and marginal commentary are written, as has been already stated, in the vernacular language of 16th and 17th-century Byelorussia, that is to say in the language spoken by the educated classes. In view of the fact that so many of the linguistic features and much of the vocabulary of this language is common to mediaeval Byelorussian and Ukrainian, scholars have sought to find a satisfactory name for it by reference to its geographical spread: hence *zapadno-russkij*. Others have used the term 'Ruthenian' to distinguish the western dialects and literary languages of the East Slavonic group from Muscovite or Great Russian. The term has this to be said for it: that it allows us to reserve 'Russian' for *sobstvenno russkij* or *rossijskij*. For the purposes of this article I shall refer to the language of the source as Byelorussian, for it originated in Byelorussia and, as we shall see, it has a number of Byelorussian dialectal characteristics.

On the obverse of the title page under the coat-of-arms of Iosif Gorbackij appears a dedicatory poem, which, like other examples of the genre, strives for the heroic and achieves banality.

Ясне свѣтять клейноты, цныхъ Горбацкихъ дому.

Хоть жадного зезнаковъ: горнего триону

Немають: алеже ихъ цале улюбила

Отчызна: з неба для нихъ клейноты звабила.

Архиерейска Митра, есть то клейнотъ з неба

в гелмъ ю дасть отчызна: бы южъ не треба

Жадныхъ се штурмовъ земныхъ намнѣй варовати

самъ з неба Архиерей, хочеть рятovati.

An approximate rendering of this in English would be:

Bright shine the jewels¹² of Gorbacik's noble house.

They lack, it's true, the favour of a stellar sign

Above; but since their fatherland has loved them dearly,

Wholly; for them from heaven bright jewels has it won.

A jewel from heaven true is this archbishop's mitre;
Your fatherland confers it as a crest; that we
Need feel no more the least fear of this earth's offensives
While from high Heaven our Archbishop deigns to bring us aid.

While the literary merit of these lines may be doubtful, they are notable for one or two rather unusual expressions. This may be the earliest and possibly the only appearance of the Latinism *trion* in East Slavonic.¹³ In English poetry of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period the word denotes the constellation of the Great Bear. Thomas Lodge writes:

The fair Triones with their glimmering light,

Smiled at the foot of clear Boötes' wain.

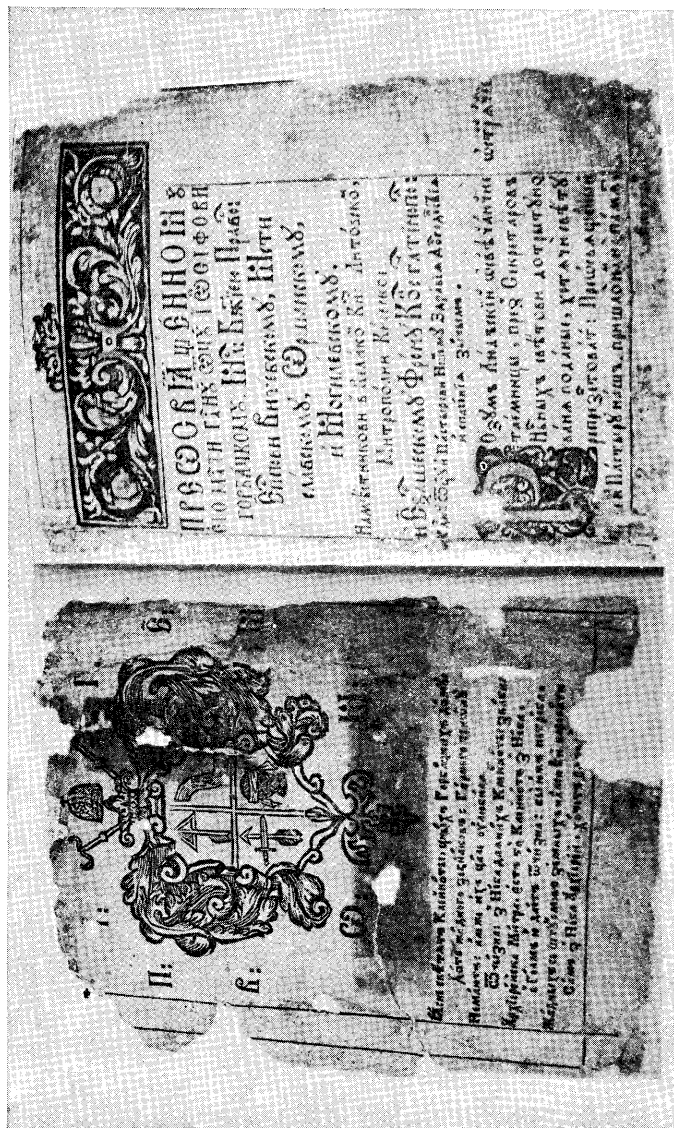
Another writer speaks of the 'heav'ns seven Trions', not perhaps a very elegant phrase, but one which clearly shows that we here have a partial translation of the Latin name for the constellation of the Great Bear, *Septentriones*, which some etymologists explain as meaning the seven plough-oxen. The Byelorussian poet not only detaches *trion* from its parent word but extends its semantic field, using it of any constellation. Two things strike us: the writer's extensive acquaintance with the Latin language, and his boldness in the use of Latinisms. We shall see that the same features characterise the language of the dedicatory preface.

V

The full possibilities of the Ciceronian oratorical style are exploited in the dedication. Statement is ornamented with such loving care and is hedged around with such an intricate filigree of qualification that the main thread of thought is almost lost in the elaborate texture. As I read it for the first time there came to mind a rather irreverent comparison with certain less obscure passages of James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*, where all the words are known, each individual phrase makes its own sense, but the interdependence of the whole is something that remains the property of the writer.

However, an attempt was surely made to convey the meaning of the whole passage to the recipient of the dedication, and one imagines that this was done by a public declamation. The convoluted inter-relationship of the parts could be made clear by a good orator. Repetitions which appear tiresome and pointless on the printed page could be fitted into a melodic and harmonic structure by a speaker trained in the art of rhetoric. Then the repeated words, phrases and themes would develop their counterpoint and balance: the work would become a spoken fugue.

Such a task demands an expert orator, and we may well imagine that Abbot Joel Trucevič had such a man at his disposal, or was himself a distinguished practitioner of the art. We can be sure that rhetoric was known and appreciated, even at a high level, in the monastery of Kucieina. As a proof of this we can take the following fact. Of the fifteen sentences, some of them of inordinate length, which comprise the text of the dedication, no less than five end with a typical Ciceronian cadence: . . . *dedykováti podobájet*, for example,



THE KUCIEINA NEW TESTAMENT AND PSALTER OF 1652.

Reverse of title-page with the arms of Bishop
Iosif Gorbackij and the verse dedicated to him.

Opening of the dedication to Bishop
Iosif Gorbackij.

has the same closing rhythm as Cicero's ... *esse videatur*, a cadence which Quintilian characterised as 'iam nimis frequens' even in his day.¹⁴ Sheer coincidence could of course produce such a prosodic structure but surely it could not occur in one third of the writer's sentences without at least his acquiescence in what would be an amazing series of such coincidences. There appears to be a case for regarding the Latin influences as not confined to syntax and vocabulary, but even extending to prosody. The full extent of these influences could be determined only by a thorough metrical analysis of the whole text.¹⁵

VI

Much of the marginal commentary consists of exegesis of the scriptural text. For example, John the Baptist says to the Pharisees and Sadducees; 'Ye brood of vipers, who hath showed you how to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruit worthy of penance.' The commentary here reads: 'Iž žadnaja pričina (grecha muk věčnych godnogo) bez pokuty, kotoraja v žitii človečom byti majet, zgoditi ne možet, Ioann Krestitel' opovėdajet.'¹⁶ In other words, John the Baptist explains that there can be no intercession for a man guilty of mortal sin (sin worthy of eternal torment), unless that man does penance during his life on earth.

The phrase 'Kingdom of Heaven' in the gospel text is elucidated as follows: 'To jest Ch[risto]s krol' pravdivy(j) žydo(v)skij, kotoryj v teperešne(m) i v pryšlom věku kroleva(t) budet'.¹⁷ 'Vo dniže ony' — 'in those days' at the beginning of St. Matthew's gospel is explained by the marginal comment: 'za panova(n)ja Tiverija krola'¹⁸, that is, in the reign of Tiberius Caesar. A marginal comment on the name of Christ's birthplace points out that this is Bethlehem in Judaea, not Babylonia.¹⁹

The headings to the psalms explain how they reflect and reinforce Christian doctrine. Thus, the heading to the second psalm, in Latin the 'Quare fremuerunt gentes', reads as follows: 'O poro(ž)ny(ch) umysloch poga(n)skich. I o dare(m)ny(ch) radech kn[ja]zej, i pote(n)-tatov segosvětni(ch) proti(v) B[og]ja, o vytja(ž)stve Ch[risto]jvom na(d) nimi, o stalosti žydo(v)skogo nevěrstva.'²⁰ The psalm is therefore concerned with 'the vain plots of the heathens and the futile plans of the princes and potentates of this world against God, about Christ's victory over them and the continuing perfidy of the Jews'.

The phrase 'o osměj' occurs in the heading to Psalm 6, the first penitential psalm. Modern commentators explain 'for the octave' as meaning 'to be sung to an instrument of eight strings'. Marginal comment in the Kucieina psalter follows St. Augustine who understood the phrase mystically, of the last resurrection and the world to come, the octave being the eighth day, the day of judgment which follows the seven days of mortal life: 'nakonec pė(s)nej o osme(m). to jest o dni sudno(m), above(m) v 7-ch dnjach nede(l)ny(ch) žyvt naš mijaje(t). ožydajučy osmogo dnja, sudu.'²¹

Comment may be of other kinds. If a difficult word is felt to be of great significance its translation may be given in the margin. Thus

in the genealogy which opens the gospel of St. Matthew the two Hebrew names, Phares and Zara, are explained: 'Fares značy(t) razdelenije, Zara vschoženije', that is, Phares means division, Zara means rising.²² Incidentally Pamvo Berynda has both these names in the Onomasticon, or second part of his Lexicon.²³ He glosses *Phares* as 'rozdele(n)' and *Zara* as 'vschodjaščij a(b)o vschodnij'. The story of the birth of these twins and how they came to be given their names is found in the 38th chapter of the book of Genesis.

In the last verse of the second chapter of St. Matthew's gospel it is said that Joseph took the Holy Family to Nazareth 'that it might be fulfilled which was said by the prophets: that he shall be called a Nazarene'. The commentary explains that *Nazorej* of the Church Slavonic text means 'holy, anointed, consecrated'.²⁴ Berynda's Lexicon gives a number of equivalents:²⁵ 'Nazorej: o(t)lučenyj, a(b)o korunovanyj, a(b)o posvjačenyj', that is, set apart, crowned or consecrated. The parallels are expected, of course, but they allow us to postulate that the compilers of the commentary had access, if not to Berynda's Lexicon, at least to the sources used by him.

In the sermon on the mount Christ condemns the use of insult to one's fellow-man. One of the expressions to be avoided is a Hebrew word, *raka*. A marginal gloss reads: 'na(z)visko znevaže(n)ja i vzga(r)dy', or, a name indicating disrespect and contempt.²⁶ Berynda gives several synonyms for the word: 'porožnij (ukorizny slovo). Zakonoprestupnyj ... igrajuščij ... meta(f): blaze(n), ne(n)dznyj, golota (Uk. *holota*), gultaj (Uk. *hultaj*), necnota, lotr i pr[o](č)'.²⁷ Other examples of such glosses are *bezrozumnyj* for Church Slavonic *jurode*, in Matt. 5: 22, and *paraližom zaražony(j)* for Church Slavonic *ra(z)-slaben* 'sick of the palsy'.²⁸

Another type of marginal comment is the explanation of a metaphor. John the Baptist gives a dire and colourful warning to the Pharisees and Sadducees. 'Now the axe is laid to the root of the trees. Every tree therefore that doth not yield good fruit shall be cut down and cast into the fire.' The commentator here informs the reader that 'značyt drevom nedajučy(m) ovocu dobrego, zlych ljudej'²⁹ — by the tree which does not bring forth good fruit he means bad people.

The margins also contain cross-references to other passages of scripture. For example, the genealogy at the beginning of St. Matthew's gospel is provided with cross-references to the appropriate books of the Old Testament, where the statements can be checked. Occasionally entries in the margin give title or heading to an episode of the gospel story. At verse 4 of the third chapter of St. Matthew's gospel a marginal note reads: 'Vzor ode(n)ja, pokarmu, vradu Ioanna Krestitelja',³⁰ that is, picture of the apparel, diet, and régime of John the Baptist. By the story of the centurion appears the entry 'pochvaljajet věru so(t)nikovu Ch[r]isto[s]',³¹ that is, Christ praises the faith of the centurion. The story of the Holy Innocents is introduced by the words 'chitrost' i zdrada Irodova'³² — Herod's cunning and treachery. Finally some of the marginal entries indicate the beginning or end of gospel readings for specific feast-days.



THE KUCIEINA NEW TESTAMENT AND PSALTER OF 1652.

The opening of Psalm I.



The opening of the Preface to the reader.

VII

For the most part the vocalic system of the vernacular material is common East Slavonic, but in the treatment of *jať* and the front nasal vowel of Common Slavonic we see the pattern discussed by Victor Swoboda in his excellent review of a recent work by U. V. Aničenka.³³ Swoboda points out that in the development of these vowels the South Byelorussian and the North Ukrainian dialects agree. For *jať* they both have *e*, whereas the South Ukrainian dialects have *i*; from nasal *ę* they have developed oral *e*, as against the regular East Slavonic reflex, which is *ja*. Examples for the former are not too frequent since the orthography is fairly traditional and the writer continues to use *jať* even though it no longer has any specific phonetic value of its own. Occasionally, however, *e* is substituted for *ě*: *bole(z)ni* (Psalter, f. 11), *prorocech* (*ibid.*, 11 v.), *rozuměn'ja* (*ibid.*, 22 v.). In a number of cases such spellings may be attributable to Polish interference. This would appear to be the case with the preposition *prez* and the prefixes *pre-*, *pred-*, e.g. *preznačajučy(j)* (Introd., f. 2 v.), *pre(d)sjavzja(t)ja* (Psalter, f. 12 v.). Examples of *e* from CS *ę* include the reflexive pronoun which regularly appears as *se*. The present active participles and gerunds of verbs from Leskien's fourth class may have *e* as the stem vowel instead of the usual East Slavonic *ja*. The traditional spelling is seen in *privodjači* (Psalter, f. 3 v.), *prosjači* (*ibid.*, f. 5 v.), the dialectal variant in *ko(n)žečy* (Psalter, f. 24 v.). Another example of *e* from *ę* is *upameta(n)ja* (Psalter, f. 22 v.).

Features of the Byelorussian consonantal system which are illustrated by the material include the hardening of the hush consonants and *ř*. This is clear from numerous spellings which substitute the letters *o*, *y* and *a* for the traditional *e*, *i* and *ja*: *preložonyje* (Psalter, f. 9 v.), *prymaležat'* (*ibid.*, f. 10), *značyt'* (*ibid.*, f. 11). Hardening of *ř* may be indicated by the spelling *skrydlami* (Introd., f. 2 v.) or *sekretarov* (Introd., f. 2), where the suffix might be expected to have a soft consonant, coming as it does from Latin (*secret*)arius. But, if foreign words are not acceptable evidence, we can point to a word which demonstrates two features of Byelorussian phonology. The word in question consists of the Common Slavonic prefix *u-* with root *-rěd-*, which gives rise to Polish *urząd* and standard East Slavonic *urjad*. The spelling *vradu*, gen. sing., (NT, f. 8) reflects the hardening of *r'*, a prime feature of Byelorussian, and in an oblique way the vocalisation of preconsonantal *v*, about which Swoboda has some interesting things to say.³⁴

Fricative pronunciation of Common Slavonic *g*, another feature of Byelorussian, shared with Ukrainian and the South-Russian dialects, is borne out by the use of the digraph *kg* to represent plosive *g* in words of Polish and West-European origin, e.g. *fikgurujučy* (Psalter, f. 10). Re-entry of plosive *g* into the native vocabulary of Byelorussian become possible when a Common Slavonic weak reduced vowel was lost between *k* and a voiced consonant. The conjunction *kgdy* from Common Slavonic **küdy* could therefore

be understood as a native Byelorussian word, although the possibility must be borne in mind that it may be a borrowing from Pol. *gdy*.

In the spelling of foreign words we note a tendency to indicate the absence of palatalisation of the dental consonants by the use of the letter *jery* to render Latin *i*, e.g. *polityčě*, dat. sing., (Introd., f. 3), *stylem*, instr. sing., (*ibid.*, f. 2 v.), *dedykovati* (*ibid.*, f. 3). This is of course in line with Polish usage. Were it not for the possibility of Polish influence we could confidently take such spellings as indirect evidence for the assimilation of Common Slavonic *t* and *d* before front vowels, one of the key consonantal features of the Byelorussian language, which the traditional spelling tends to conceal.

VIII

The morphology of the noun, pronoun and adjective is for the most part common East Slavonic. In the declension of masculine and neuter nouns we see the encroachment of *u*-stem endings which is carried much further in the Byelorussian and Ukrainian dialects than in Great Russian.³⁵ In the genitive singular *-u* appears in the following examples: *ratunku* (Psalter, f. 18), *priby(t)ku* (*ibid.*, f. 20). The dative singular is particularly frequent in the preface and dedication. Here we find *jep(i)s(ko)povi*, *pastyrovi*, *světovi* (Introd., f. 2), *archijereovi* (*ibid.*, f. 2 v.), *Moiseovi*, *mirovi*, *sukcessorovi*, *stroitelevi*, *o(t)cevi*, *učitelevi*, *opekunovi* (*ibid.*, f. 3 v.), *testamentovi* (*ibid.*, f. 5). Note that the ending *-ovi/-evi* is mostly found with personal nouns but is not confined to them. The writer is sometimes in doubt, as when he has the forms *světu* and *světovi* in close proximity on the same page (Introd., f. 2). The confusion goes back to a much earlier period: *synu* and *synovi* are found in the same paragraph of the *Russkaja Pravda* in the Novgorod *Kormčaja Kniga* of 1282.³⁶ The noun *syn* is an old *u*-stem so that *synu* is the innovation here, probably introduced by a careless copyist. In the case of the introduction to the Kucieina New Testament and Psalter one suspects that stylistic or prosodic factors are involved and that a conscious choice was made. The *o*-stem ending was noted in the following examples from the same passage: *panu* (Introd., f. 2 v.), *zakonopriimcu* (*ibid.*, f. 3 v.), *sonasledniku*, *cheruvimu*, *chranitelju*, *archijereju* (*ibid.*, f. 3 v.), *pastyru*, *stroitelju*, *klejnotu* (*ibid.*, f. 4), *prikladu* (*ibid.*, f. 5 v.).

In the locative singular the *u*-stem nouns had the ending *-u*, as against the front vowel *-ě* of the hard *o*-stems, with which the *u*-stem nouns were easily confused. As *jať* by palatalising *k*, *g* and *ch* produced changes in velar stems there was a temptation to substitute the *u*-stem ending which caused no such problems. Examples of this substitution are *na poča(t)ku* (Introd., f. 5 v.), *pri č[e]l[ove]ku*, *na vidoku* (Psalter, f. 24 v.). The ending also spread to the soft-stem neuter nouns, e.g. *o pristju*, *naroženju*, *v ro(z)širenju*, *bada(n)ju* (Introd., f. 5 v.), *pri doskončenju* (Psalter, f. 20), *pri pos[vja]ščenju* (*ibid.*, f. 20 v.). The process is not universally applied to the soft-stem neuter nouns. Side by side with the examples given we find words which preserve the original case-ending *-i*, e.g. *kr[e]ščenii* (Introd.,

f. 5), *voskr[e]/(s)[e]nii*, *vo(z)nesenii* (*ibid.*, f. 5 v.). These latter forms are Church Slavonic which leads us to conclude that the writer found the ending -i more appropriate to the older stratum of the vocabulary. The examples given above with -u occur in words shared with and, in some cases, borrowed from Polish. The phenomenon constitutes a type of morphological bilingualism. It would be interesting to establish the stylistic function of the traditional and innovatory inflections but this is beyond the scope of a short article.

The locative plural of hard o-stem nouns also contained the vowel *ě* which once again caused palatalisation of velar consonants. The u-stem declension provided a convenient solution, for the ending -och, from earlier -*ŭchŭ*, re-established uniformity of the stem, e.g. *v grěchoch* (Psalter, f. 22 v.), *v ostanko(ch)* (*ibid.*, f. 14 v.), instead of *grěsěch*, *ostancěch*. The ending -ech is also found, e.g. *v ty(ch) slove(ch)* (Psalter, f. 23 v. — 24).

In verbal morphology one of the most striking features of the language of the commentary is the use of new personal endings in the past tense. These, unlike the endings of the aorist and imperfect tenses, could be attached not only to the past participle in -l- (*znal-em*, etc.), but also to the initial word in a sentence or clause which would frequently be a conjunction, e.g. *iže(m)* (Psalter, f. 12) or a pronoun, e.g. *jam ... movil* (*ibid.*, f. 19). In Byelorussian this innovation follows the practice of Polish. Further afield it recalls the relative morphological freedom of the Turkic and other agglutinative languages. Other examples are: *spolkovale(m)* (Psalter, f. 18), *udale(m)sja na pokutu* (*ibid.*, f. 23), *kgdy(m) chote(l)* (*ibid.*, f. 22 v.).

A second striking feature of verbal morphology found in the commentary is the reflexive verbal noun. The flight of the Holy Family to Egypt is referred to as *uchile(n)ese* (NT, f. 6 v.), which may be compared with Pol. *uchilenie się*, in a rough translation 'removal of oneself'. In Lithuanian the reflexive pronoun is even incorporated into the word between prefix and root. *Išsigelbėjimas* 'escape' consists of prefix *iš-* + *-si-*, the reflexive pronoun, + *gelbėjimas*, the verbal noun from *gelbėti* 'to save'. The Slavonic languages which have the reflexive noun do not go so far as this, but a somewhat similar formation may be seen in *pre(d)sjavzja(t)ja* (Psalter, f. 12 v.) 'undertaking', an adaptation of Pol. *przedsięwzięcie*.

IX

It is not easy to find specifically Byelorussian features of phonology or morphology, since the orthography in the main follows traditional or etymological principles. Thus we look in vain for evidence for the reduction of unstressed vowels. But we need only call to mind the orthography of modern standard English or Russian to realise that changes in the pronunciation of unstressed vowels need not be reflected in the spelling. As we have seen there is direct and indirect evidence for the hardening of the hush sibilants and *r*,

for the fricative pronunciation of CS *g*. To these we may add a prime feature of Byelorussian morphology of which one example has so far been noted. This is the omission of epenthetic *n* between preposition and third person pronoun: *na i(ch)* (Psalter, f. 9 v.). The interrogative pronouns of Common Slavonic **čto* and **kŭto* appear in their Byelorussian guise with dissimilation of consonants after the loss of the reduced vowels: *što* (Psalter, f. 14), *nichto* (Introd., 4 v.). Also to be noted is the verbal form *chočut* (Introd., f. 5 v.) although the traditional orthography here conceals the possible assibilation of the final dental.

While the language of the commentary is basically East Slavonic there is a strong admixture of Polish features which are frequently but not always retained in lexical Polonisms. Virtually the full gamut of Polish phonology is brought into play. Among common West Slavonic characteristics are here attested: the reflex of CS *ch* by the Third Slavonic Palatalisation — WS hush consonant *š* against ES *s*, e.g. *ovšem* (NT, f. 11 v.), *všeljakoi* (*ibid.*), retention of dental plosive in CS -*dl-*, e.g. *bydljačogo* (Psalter, f. 22 v.); metathesis of the Polish type where East Slavonic has pleophony from CS medial liquid diphthongs, e.g. *prevrotny(m)* (Psalter, f. 12); *krolem* (*ibid.*, f. 13 v.); *preznačajučy(j)* (Introd., f. 2 v.); *potrebujut* (*ibid.*). *Praca* (Introd., f. 2 v.) is a Czech form transmitted via Polish; *vladarstvo* (Psalter, f. 11) owes its form to Czech influences on Polish, or may be a 'false Church Slavonicism' modelled on Pol. *włodarstwo*. The West Slavonic reflex of CS *gt'* is seen in *mocju* (Psalter, f. 12), while the East Slavonic form occurs in the derivative *pomoč* (Psalter, f. 7 v.).³⁷ The Polish treatment of CS *dj* is seen in *władza* (Psalter, f. 12 v.) from Pol *władza* in which the root has Czech vocalism. West Slavonic initial *ju-* and *je-* as against East Slavonic *u-* and *o-* occur in *juž* (Introd., f. 1 v.) and *jednak* (*ibid.*, f. 2 v.). There are frequent examples of Polish *e* from a CS back reduced vowel in a strong position, where East Slavonic has *o*, e.g. *vedlug* (Introd., f. 2 v.), *ve(s)tche(n)e* (Psalter, f. 2), *statečnost'* (*ibid.*, f. 12), *tedy* (Introd., f. 3), *zemdlony(j)* (NT, f. 100), *preč* (NT, f. 11 v.). There are occasional Polonisms in which the nasal vowels of Polish are rendered by *e* or *o* + *n*, e.g. *poneko(n)d* (Introd., f. 2 v.). Typical Polish reflexes of CS vocalic *l* are seen in *vedlug* (Introd., f. 2 v.) and *movit* (*ibid.*). Forms arising from the so-called *polska przegłoska* of CS *ě*, a change to 'a' which operates before hard dental consonants, are *presljadova(n)ju* (Psalter, f. 30) and *cale* (Introd., f. 1 v.).

Syntactic features attributable to Polish influence are the usage of *že* and *by* to mean 'since, that' and 'so that' respectively; the conjunctions *bovēm* and *ponevaž* (Introd., f. 2 v.), *ne žeby* (NT, f. 8 v.); the pluperfect formation *umy(s)li(l) by(l)* (NT, f. v.); new personal endings in the past tenses; position of these endings in the sentence; various constructions with prepositions, e.g. *za panova(n)ja Tiverija krola*, 'in the reign of King Tiberius'.

Some of the lexical Polonisms exhibit features of phonology which establish their origin, e.g. *obfitosti* (Psalter, f. 13), *pristju* (*ibid.*), *ufnosti* (') (Psalter, f. 13 v.). The substitution of East Slavonic phonetic

equivalents sometimes obscures the picture, e.g. *oborancy*, dat. sing., (Introd., f. 3 v.) with *-boron-* for Pol. *-bron-*; *potužnost'* (Psalter, f. 14) with *-u-* for a Polish nasal vowel; *čužoložstva* (Psalter, f. 22) with *č-* and *-ž-* against Polish *c-* and *-dž-*. In such cases the chronology of the Polish and Byelorussian words must be adduced as evidence and the present state of historical lexicography of the East Slavonic languages does not always allow a fair judgment to be made.³⁸

Latin words sometimes appear with the minimum of adaptation, e.g. *interpretatora*, gen. sing., (Introd., f. 2 v.). Other show various modifications of phonology or morphology which usually reflect passage through Polish, e.g. *ofjarovati* (Introd., f. 2 v.), *repreze(n)-tovat'* (*ibid.*, f. 2), *dedykovati* (*ibid.*, f. 3).

Syntactic features of the commentary suggest the writer's dependence on Latin models. His sentence order in the headings to psalms or chapters of the New Testament remorselessly relegates the verb to the end of sentence or paragraph. The reader who is used to English sentence order, which is also the regular means of expression used by the Slavs when they are not exposed to Latin or German influences, is left gasping for air before he reaches the end.

As an example we may take the heading to Psalm no. 12. This reads: 'O ul'žene gnevnu i strofova(n)ja B[o]ž[e]lgo z prelože(n)em slabosti svoje privodjači sm[e]rt' i sud strašnyj na pamjat', i o pomoč prosit'. A literal translation of this would be — 'for a tempering of God's wrath and chastisement with the excuse of his weakness, bringing death and judgment day to mind, and for assistance he (the psalmist) prays'. In general the style and syntax suggest that the author of the commentary not only had himself a good knowledge of Latin, but could expect the same of his readers.

X

One interesting aspect of the Kucieina New Testament and Psalter of 1652 is its relationship to the Psalter published at Jeŭje in 1611. Je. F. Karskij's work on 16th-century translations of the Book of Psalms gives two quotations from the commentary of the Jeŭje Psalter.³⁹ These are identical with the same passages in the Kucieina Psalter of 1652, and suggest that the latter, like other books from the Kucieina press, was a reprinting of a book earlier printed elsewhere.

On a recent visit to Poland I consulted in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow a copy of a psalter with commentary which, according to the catalogue of the early printed books department, was printed at Vilna in or about 1630. I was unable to compare thoroughly and at length the text of this with my notes from the Kucieina Psalter. The Cracow copy is badly damaged and has lost many of the outer pages, including the title page and introduction — if indeed there was an introduction to this edition. However, it was obvious from the limited comparison I was able to carry out that the text of this commentary is the same as that of the Kucieina Psalter. The only differences observed were in the accentuation.

All this raises the interesting question of the authorship of the commentary. It appears that the writer may have been someone associated with the Vilna and Jeŭje printing presses. One of the most likely candidates might therefore be, as Fr. Alexander Nadson has pointed out to me, Leontij Karpovič, or possible Meletij Smotryckij. Without access to the earlier 16th-century Byelorussian psalters one cannot decide the question of the original text. When that problem is solved it may be possible to identify the author by a comparison with the known work of the suspects.

FOOTNOTES

- * This article is a printed version of a paper read as part of the course in Byelorussian Culture held during the year 1973-4. The examples are given in a simplified transliteration, omitting the letter *jer* (hard sign), and not distinguishing the various shapes of the letters *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *ja*. Supralinear letters are given in rounded brackets; letters omitted from abbreviations in square ones. Accents and *pajerki* are not given. The letter *r* is transliterated as *g*, although it is clear that it denoted a fricative consonant. The Cyrillic of the three long texts given in the article and appendix is also simplified for technical reasons, but here the *jers* and *jat'* are retained, and one or two peculiarities are commented on in the footnotes.
1. I. Karatajev, *Opisanije slavjano-russkich knig napečatannyh kirillovskimi bukvami*, I, St. Petersburg, 1883, no. 684.
2. The only other copy I have seen is in the Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw; this is not as well preserved as the Skaryna Library copy.
3. References will be to folio number of Introduction (Introd.), Psalter or New Testament (NT).
4. A. P. Lopuchin, *Pravoslavnaja bogoslovskaja enciklopedija*, XII, St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 184; *Polnyj pravoslavnyj bogoslovskij enciklopedičeskij slovar'*, I-II, St. Petersburg, no date, cols. 1389-90.
5. See *Ukrajins'ki pys'mennyky*, I, ed. L. Je. Machnovec', Kiev, 1960, pp. 568-9. Trucevič wrote prefaces for the following books published by the Kucieina press: *Brašno duchovnoje* (1639); *Trifologion ili cvetoslov* (1647); *Dioptra ili zercalo i izobraženije života vo mire sem čelovečeskago*, by Abbot Vitalij of Dubno (1651 and 1654); *New Testament and Psalter* (1652); *Leksikon slavenorosskij ... Pamvoju Beryndoju ... zgromaženyj* (1653). See also I. U. Budovič, *Slovar' russkoj, ukrajskoj i belorusskoj pis'mennosti i literatury do XVIII veka*, Moscow, 1962, p. 120. The preface to the second edition of Berynda's Lexicon may be seen in *Leksykon slovenoroš'kyj Pamny Beryndy*, ed. V. V. Nimčuk, Kiev, 1961, pp. 248-50.
6. Filaret, *Obzor russkoj duchovnoj literatury*, I, Kharkov, 1859, p. 280. F. A. Brokgaus and I. A. Jefron, *Enciklopedičeskij slovar'*, XIIIa, St. Petersburg, 1894, p. 741, has a short note, s. v. 'Ioil'.
7. 'Az poslušanije moje k pastyrju i po smerti sochranju', Filaret, *loc. cit.*
8. L. I. Denisov, *Pravoslavnyje monastyri rossijskoj imperii*, Moscow, 1908, pp. 582-3.
9. Denisov, *loc. cit.*
10. *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*, IV, St. Petersburg, 1878, cols. 54-5. Afanasij had been given the task of raising money for the restoration of the Orthodox church at Kupjatiči near Pinsk, and a voice from Heaven had announced to him that the Tsar would assist with this project.
11. Penultimate stress in some of these examples could be the result of Polish interference.
12. The word *klejnot* could mean not only 'jewel' but also 'heraldic bearings' and 'device worn on a helmet, characteristic crest of a knight's helmet', see F. Sławski, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, II, Cracow, 1958-65, p. 202. The poem exploits this polysemy which evades translation.

13. The word occurs as an entry in the Latin-Slavonic dictionary of Jepifanij Slavineckij: 'triones bi (sic! — presumably for boves); voli oruščii, Voz n[e]b[e]sni(i)', v. *Leksykon latyns'kij Je. Slavinec'koho*, ed. V. V. Nimčuk, Kiev, 1973, p. 403. The English quotations are from the *Oxford English Dictionary*.
14. Since Byelorussian does not have phonemic distinctions of quantity the metrical pattern of Latin -uu -u is reinterpreted in tonic terms as a sequence of 1 stressed, 3 unstressed, 1 stressed, 1 unstressed syllable.
15. The other examples are: *glojs[pó]dnja komparújut; uvaženja potrebújut; tajémnicy naléžat; ukrasi tja krasotóju*.
16. NT, f. 8.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. NT, f. 6v.
20. Psalter, f. 1v.
21. Psalter, f. 3v.
22. NT, f. 5.
23. Berynda, *op. cit.*, col. 467, lines 8-10, and 404, 22-23.
24. NT, f. 7v. The Church Slavonic text here has 'Nazarej'; the marginal note reads: 'Nazorej svjatij ... pomazany(j) posvečony(j) značy(t)sja'.
25. *Op. cit.*, col. 438, lines 6-8.
26. NT, f. 11.
27. *Op. cit.*, col. 428, lines 13-18.
28. NT, f. 18v.
29. NT, f. 8.
30. *Ibid.*
31. NT, f. 16v.
32. NT, f. 6v.
33. *Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, II, London, 1971, pp. 310-5.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
35. For an exhaustive discussion of the problem, see F. P. Filin, *Proischoždenije russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo jazykov*, Leningrad, 1972, pp. 366-410. Filin admits the possibility of Polish influences on Ukrainian in the case of the dative singular ending -ovi.
36. S. P. Obnorskij and S. G. Barchudarov, *Chrestomatija po istorii russkogo jazyka*, I, 2nd ed., Moscow, 1952, p. 57.
37. On consonantal variations in derivatives of this root see H. Leeming, 'Form and function in Mianžynski's "Romance of Alexander"', *Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, II, London, 1971, pp. 267-70.
38. Filin, *op. cit.*, pp. 621-4.
39. Je. F. Karskij, *Zapadnorusskije perevody Psaltyri v XV-XVI vekach*, Warsaw, 1896, pp. 43-4.

APPENDIX A: The dedication

ПРЕОСВЯЩЕННОМУ ЕГО М[и]Л[о](С)ТИ Г[о](С)[по]Д[и]НУ
О(Т)ЦУ ИОСИФОВИ ГОРБАЦКОМУ. М[и]Л[о](С)[т]ю Б[о]жиею
Право(с)[лавному] Еп[и](с)[ко]пови Витебскому, Мстиславскому,
Оршанскому и Могилевскому. Намѣстникови в Велико(м) Кн[я]-
(з)стве Литовско(м), Митрополии Киевское. и Екса(р)шескому
Фрону Ко(н)ста(н)тинопо(л)[скому]: Г[о](С)[по]Д[и]НУ О(т)цу и
Пастырови Н[а]шему Здравия, До(л)годе(н)ствия и спасения зы-
чымъ.

Розумъ людський освѣчаючие¹ таемниці, през Секретаровъ Н[е]-
б[е](с)ныхъ свѣтови до трытунованя² поданые, хотячи свѣту
репрезе(н)товат(ь): преосвященный [Пан]е³ и Пастыру нашъ при-
шло на(м) на памя(т) нѣкоторы(х) Писма с[вя]таго Б[о]гослово(в)
здане: же Архиеровъ до оныхъ Херувимовъ которые скрыдлами
своими, осѣняли киотъ⁴ завѣта Г[о](С)[по]дня, компарують. На
которое ла(т)во напавшы, за речъ слушную розумѣмо, тепереш-
ною малую нашу працу, никому иншому, толко Архиерови, офа-
ровати. Таковыя бовѣмъ таемниці Па(н)ские. любо понеко(н)дѣ
здаются, латвымъ стылемъ, з ка(н)целярии Н[е]б[е](с)ное выданые:
великого еднакъ уваженя потребують. Аже Херувимъ, Архиерея
презначаючы(й), ве(д)лугъ Б[о]гослововъ Писма С[вя]того, ничего
иншого незначить, толко исполнение умѣ(т)ности, Тобѣ Пану и
Пастырови нашему, преосвяще(н)ному Архиерови, при Доскона-
лои Мудрости, и умѣтности, таковыи таемниці належать. По-
неважъ и Христо[с] Г[о](С)[по]дѣ, таковыми Архиеровъ хотячи
ме(т), у С[вя]того[и] Ион(н)на Еу[ан]гелисты такъ о нихъ мовить: и
овца гласъ его слышать.⁵ Частого вправдѣ поучения потребують
овца. Потребуеъ и наша теперешняя праца, учителя и интерпре-
татора, и, поневажъ Пастырь Св[я]тый⁶ овца глашаетъ по имени,
и овца по немъ идуъ.⁷ Теды и намъ в Смире(н)номъ Послушании
мешкаючи(м) при Ц[е]ркви Б[о]гоявленний: Б[о]гомъ явленный,
през Секретаровъ Н[е]б[е](с)ныхъ тае(м)ниці, преос[вя]щенству
Твоему, достойнѣ приносити, и усердно дедьковати, подобаетъ.
Если бовѣмъ, в Свѣтовой Вѣкопомной Политыцѣ, Ораторомъ и
Вѣрьшописцомъ, науками Свѣтовыми розумъ свой полярючимъ,
опекунувъ обирати, потребная речъ здалася. Которыхъ они не
толко своими енкомиами, широко описуючи, непамяти затлумитъ
недопустили, овшемъ несмерте(л)ною, ачъ про(ж)ною славою при-
оздобили: Далеко барзей намъ смире(н)нымъ, Свѣтилу о(т) Свѣт-
лости неугасаючей ос[вя]щенному, по(д)лугъ словъ самое незахо-
димое Свѣтлости: Вы есте свѣтъ миру и далей: нежвигаютъ
свѣтильникъ, и поставляютъ его по(д) спудомъ, но насвѣщницѣ, и
свѣтитъ всимъ иже вохраминѣ суть, ясности не уволокати: овшемъ
Несмертельной Славѣ, несмертельности додавати. Данныя же ?
Шафарни Н[е]б[е](с)ное, Преос[вя]щенству твоему тала(н)ты,
ширити и умножати, и свѣту объяснати належитъ. А яко Самому
толко законоприѣмцу Мойсеови,⁸ на Скрижалехъ Законъ о(т)
Б[о]га писаныи, мирови проповѣдати и объяснати Повѣрено: При-

шесть же Моисей,⁸ возва вся Старца людские и рече, и исповѣда имъ вся словеса си, яже завѣща имъ Б[о]гъ. Такъ и Б[о]жественныя благодати новый законъ, Б[о]жественнымъ Ап[о]с[то]ломъ вовъреннѣй, сукъдессорови и сонаслѣднику ихъ, Херувиму исполненному умѣтности, законопримцу Б[о]жественныя Благодати, непорочныя Ц[е]ркви Строители, Православия хранителю, и жарливому оборонцу, о(т) сыновъ в Д[у]ху О(т)цеви, о(т) учениковъ учителей, о(т) клиентовъ Опекуновъ, Тобѣ Преос[вя]щенному Архидею, и Пастырови нашему приносити на(м) подобаетъ. Дотого, же и Ц[е]рквю наша Православная, видячи труды працы и подвиги Преос[вя]щенства твоего, такъ в науцѣ слова истины, яко тебѣ въ оборонѣ Бл[а]гочестия, Помноженю и укрѣпленю истинное Вѣры, на мѣйсцахъ публичныхъ помногѣ кр[от]ѣ⁶ показаны: Внагороду, Пастораломъ⁹ Б[о]годанное ти Паствы, во овчарни своей достойнѣ Преосвѣтлое Преос[вя]щенство твое, произдобила. Оде(ж)дою веселия одѣя ты, яко жениху возложи ти вѣнецъ, и яко невѣсту украси ты красотою. Для ты(м) свѣтлейшого Бл[а]гоуспѣшя Преос[вя]щенства твоего: мы нищыи духомъ, Новую Свѣтло(ст), Ма(р)гаритъ Б[о]ж[е]с[т]ве(н)ныя Новыя Бл[а]г[о]успѣшя(д)а[ти], о(т) Архипастыра Х[ри]ст[а] Б[о]га, ненаскрыжале(х), але на с[е]р[д]цахъ Ап[о]с[то]лѣ и Еу[ан]г[е]л[и]стѣ,⁸ писанный: Тобѣ Пастыру и Строителю новыя Бл[а]г[о]успѣшя(д)а[ти], о(т) тебе повеле(н)ная нами, мирови хотячи объяснить, и ново типо(м)⁸ убогое працы нашое, повѣре(н)но(й) ти о(т) Б[о]га Паствѣ, по(д) тытуло(м) Преос[вя]щенства твоего, репрезе(н)товати: Сего нового Тестаме(нту), Преос[вя]щенство твое, екекуторо(м) чинимо. Такового бове(м) Тестаме(н)тъ екекутора потребуе(т), который бы знемовячи(х) оногѣ лите(р), вживый оборочалъ голосъ. Потребуе(т) и того, абы проти(в)никомъ Тестаме(н)ту, екекуторо(р) его мощно ставалъ. Длѣтого и мы о(т) Архипастыра, Пастырови вручаем, Абы Клейноту Ц[е]ркви Православной да(н)ному ни(х)то шкѣдити не мо(г). Приими прето о(т) на(с) убогихъ, Преос[вя]щенный Пастыру, тую малую нашу працу, мы бове(м) Овца суще Паствы твоея, в Бл[а]гословение Преос[вя]щенства твоего, совсими Православно Хр[и]столюбивыми чытателми, сего нового Завѣта: смиренно вручаемъ.

Вашей С[вя]тительской м[и]л[ос]т[и]
Г[о]с[по]д[и] на о(т)ца и Пастыра нашего
зычливый послушницы,
и М[о]л[и]твенницы пр[и]с[т]авили,
Иеромона(х) ИОИЛЬ Труцѣви(ч) Игумене
Совсею в Х[ри]стѣ братією Мона(с)ты
ра Общежителна(р) Кутей(н)ско(г).

Wishing to present to the world those mysteries which enlighten human reason, the mysteries handed down to this world by the secretaries of Heaven for our ponderation, we recalled to mind, most Holy Lord and Pastor, the opinion of certain scriptural theologians, whereby they compare Archbishops to those Cherubim who used to shield with wings the Ark of the Lord's Testament. Having with no difficulty chanced upon this thought, we now regard it as only right

and proper to offer this present little work of ours to none other than our Archbishop. For such Divine mysteries, while they occasionally appear to be published in an easy style by the Secretariate of Heaven, still demand great attention.

And, since the Cherubim, who according to scriptural theologians personify the Archbishops of the Church, signify naught else but the consummation of art, then, Most Holy Archbishop, such mysteries are your proper concern in view of your perfect wisdom and art, Our Pastor and Lord. For even Christ, Our Lord, wishing to have archbishops of this kind, speaks thus of them in the Gospel of St. John: 'And the sheep hear his voice'.

In very truth the flock requires frequent instruction. So too this present work of ours requires an instructor and expositor, and, since the Holy Pastor summons his sheep by name and they follow Him, so also it befits us who dwell in humble obedience at the Church of God's Manifestation duly to offer and eagerly to dedicate to Your Exceeding Holiness these mysteries manifested by God through the agency of the Heavenly Secretaries.

For if in the immemorial polities of this world great orators and poets of an intelligence refined by secular learning conceived it as essential to choose a patron, whom not only would they portray in lengthy encomia lest he be buried in oblivion, but even bedeck with an immortal, though empty fame, how much more fitting is it for us in due humility, bearing in mind the words of that Light which never sets — 'You are the light of the world', and further — 'Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine to all that are in the house', not to disparage the brightness of this Luminary consecrated by an unwaning Splendour, but to add immortality to an Undying Fame, and to proclaim to the world at large, to publish and propagate those talents bestowed on Your Exceeding Holiness by the Heavenly Dispensator.

And just as Moses the Law-giver alone was entrusted with the preachment and exposition of the Law written by God on the Tablets, — 'Moses came and summoned all the elders of the people and told them all the words which God had commanded him' — now also it behoves us to offer to you, our Most Holy Archbishop and Pastor, successor and co-heir of the Apostles, Cherub of consummate wisdom, law-keeper of Divine Grace, Administrator of the Church immaculate, custodian and zealous champion of Orthodoxy, this, the new testament of Divine grace entrusted to God's Apostles, presented by your children to their Father Confessor, by your disciples to their teacher, by your clients to their Patron.

Furthermore, our Orthodox Church, seeing your labours, efforts and endeavours both on behalf of the doctrine of the word of truth and in the defence of Piety, as Your Exceeding Holiness strove to propagate and fortify the true Faith on numerous occasions in public places, in reward conferred upon Your Most Radiant Exceeding Holiness a crozier, due token of your God-given pastoral charge over

your flock. You have been arrayed in the garments of joy, crowned like a bridegroom and clad in beauty like a bride.

To further enhance the magnificence of Your Exceeding Holiness we, poor in spirit, present to You, Pastor and Administrator of the new Grace, this New Splendour, this Pearl of God's New Grace, written by Christ, Our God and Chief Pastor, not on tablets but in the hearts of the Apostles and Evangelists, and wishing to publish to the world at your bidding and to introduce this newly printed modest work of ours to the flock entrusted to you by God under the auspices of Your Exceeding Holiness, we now appoint you executor of this new Testament.

For the Testament requires an executor who can transform its dumb letters into living speech. Wherefore, in order that no man may harm this Jewel granted to the Orthodox Church, we now commend it from the Chief Pastor to our own Pastor. Accept therefore from your poor folk, Most Holy Pastor, this little work of ours, for we who are the flock of your Pasture humbly commend ourselves to the Benediction of Your Exceeding Holiness, together with all the devout Orthodox Christian readers of this new Testament.

Your Episcopal Grace,
Lord, Father and Pastor,
we are your well-wishing servants,
your eternal supplicants:
Hieromonach Joel Trucevič, Abbot,
together with all the brethren
in Christ of the Conventual
Monastery of Kucieina.

APPENDIX B: Preface to the reader

ПРЕДМОВА ДО ЧИТЕЛНИКА

Православия твоего, Православный Читателю: жро(д)ло и фундамент, в по(л)зу д[у]шевную з Типографии¹⁰ наше, пре(з) друж[у] подаемо. Таковой надѣи будучи: ижъ гды,¹¹ тому новому Тестаме(н)тови, пи(л)но припатроватися, и оногo врукахъ часто пѣстовати будешъ; з Хр[и]ст(о)м) Сп[и]с[и]теле(м) себе розмовляти латво зрозумѣшъ. Абовѣмъ, вне(м) суть описана, вся его Бо(з)кая о сп[и]с[и]с[и]тели нашѣмъ, таемница. Якого о м[и]л[о]б[и]в[и]и о(м), звѣковъ пожаданомъ, пристю его на зе(м)лю, опредивно(м) Нарожено, о Кр[е]щении славном о чудяхъ неслыханы(х): и см[е]рти его неви(н)ной, для збавеня рожакю лю(д)ского, доброво(л)не по(д)нятой, о тридневно(м) изм[е]ртвыхъ Воскр[е]с[е]нии: и хвалебно(м) на Н[е]бо Во(з)несении, о второ(м) настрашний д[е]нь судный пристю: и о ины(х), ку науце и прикладу до збавеня н[а]-

шего, справа(х). Ку тому те(ж), Гистория дѣл[у] и кровавыхъ працъ С[в]я[т]ыхъ Ап[о]ст[о]ло(в), вро(з)ширеню С[в]я[т]о(го) Еу[ан]г[е]лия, и послания або листы ихъ, до ро(з)ны(х) краинъ писаныи. А прико(н)цы, о(т)кровения С[в]я[т]о(го) Иоа(н)на, страшны(х) таемниц по(л)ныи. невспоминаемъ псалмо(в), и исповѣдателныхъ плачевны(х) м[о]л[и]тв[у], Царя и Пр(о)р[о]ка, Д[а]в[и]да на само(м) поча(т)ку положены(х). Которую то книгу, втаемница(х) Б[о]зски(х) обфитуючую; им пи(л)ней читати будешъ, ты(м) бо(л)шую соло(д)кость в с[е]р[д]цу своем учуеш, Коль сладка (бовѣ(м): мови(т) цѣ[р]к[и]) а[р]ствуючий Пр(о)р[о]къ) гортани моему словеса твоя; паче меда устомъ моимъ. И сам Х[ри]ст[о]с Сп[и]с[и]теле(л) наш, в пи(л)нымъ Писма С[в]я[т]о(го) бада(н)ю, живот вѣчный указуе[т]: гды¹¹ мови(л): Испытайте писаний яко вы мните внихъ имѣти животъ вѣчный, а поневаж так великий, на(д) вси н[а]ши забавы ест важнѣйший пожитокъ, вписмѣ С[в]я[т]омъ: зачы(м) пиная того е(ст) потреба, абы(с) в оное з великою прилѣжностю завше вникаль и уважалъ: и ведлугъ того вси свои корыговаль¹¹ справы и учи(н)ки: абысь в свѣдомости оногo, в темности якие ци(м)мерийские⁸ незаблудиль. А гды¹¹ читанемъ и уважанемъ Писма С[в]я[т]о(го), забавлятися зпилностю будешъ: барзо лат(т)во и сна(д)но, нибы пре(з) перспективу якую, вси стежки шкодливые, та(к)же и пожите(ч)ные до ц[а]р[с]тва, тобѣ вдѣди(ч)ство обѣцаного, ведучые выбачишъ. которого и мы тобѣ вседушне сприяючи, тую нашу працу по(д)нялисмо: тыже прилѣжно чтуе[ш], и о нашемъ невѣжествии помоли ся. Здравствуй о Г[о]с[п]од[и]!

PREFACE TO THE READER

For your spiritual benefit, Orthodox Reader, we bring into the light from our Press the printed source and foundation of your Orthodoxy, cherishing the hope that when you shall keenly examine this New Testament, holding it frequently and tenderly in your hands, you shall readily understand that you are conversing with Christ, your Saviour. For here are described all the Divine mysteries of our salvation, the long-awaited, merciful advent upon the earth, the miraculous Birth, the glorious Baptism, the wonderful miracles, His innocent death willingly undergone for the redemption, Resurrection from the dead after three days, glorious Asension into Heaven, His second coming at the awesome day of judgment, and other matters which may help us to learn and find a model for our salvation.

Furthermore, the history of the labours and bloody toils of the Holy Apostles for the propagation of the Holy Gospel, and their epistles or letters written to various lands, and finally the revelations of St. John, full of terrible mysteries, to say nothing of the psalms and confessorial laments of the King and Prophet David which appear at the beginning of the book.

The more diligently you read this book, so rich in Divine secrets, the greater consolation you shall feel at heart. For the King and Prophet himself says: 'How sweet are Thy words in my throat; sweeter than honey in my mouth'. And even Christ, our Saviour, Himself indicates the everlasting life which may come from a diligent examination of the Holy Scriptures when he says: 'Examine the scriptures since you believe you may find eternal life in them'. And because there is such benefit to be found in the holy Scriptures, far beyond that given by all our pastimes, there is therefore an urgent need for you to meditate upon and ponder these things with great attention at all times, and to correct all your affairs and actions in accordance with them, lest through ignorance you should blunder into some Cimmerian gloom. And if you diligently spend your time reading and meditating upon the Holy Scriptures, then very easily and without effort you shall have a clear view in perspective of all the harmful paths, and also all the beneficial ones leading to that kingdom promised as your inheritance. Wishing with all our hearts to assist you in this we undertook this labour of ours. As you read it with due attention, say a prayer also for our ignorance. Enjoy good health in the Lord.

FOOTNOTES TO THE APPENDIX

1. An alternative is given in the margin, viz. *ostrjačije* 'which sharpen'.
2. A rare word; cf. 'trutination' in 17th-century English. It is from the post-classical Latin verbal noun *trutinatio* of *trutinor* 'I weigh', based on *trutina* 'balance', a loanword from Greek *τρύταινη*. The Latin verb occurs in Slavineckij's dictionary where it is translated by *razsuždaju*, *važu*, *vešu*. Metathesis of the vowels in the first two syllables is probably accidental although frequency of initial *tri-* in Latin and confusion with the Slavonic numeral may have played a role.
3. The first three letters are not clear.
4. Spelt with *ižica* and *ot*; the spelling is historically incorrect since the Greek source had *iota*: *κισβωρος*. Berynda admits this as an alternative to *кивоть*, see *op. cit.*, col. 422, line 11.
5. The quotations are given in smaller type.
6. Not clear.
7. It is not clear whether this full stop in fact marks the end of a sentence. I take it that the five preceding words are part of the subordinate clause introduced by *ponevaž*, and that therefore the sentence does not end at *idut*.
8. Spelt with *ižica*.
9. Cf. Pol. *pastorał*, Lat. *pastorale*.
10. Spelt with *ižica* and plosive *g* (r).
11. Spelt with plosive *g*.

Belorussian versus Ukrainian: Delimitation of Texts before A.D. 1569

BY

GEORGE Y. SHEVELOV

If a problem is debated without solution for many decades it can usually be inferred that it had been defined inappropriately to begin with. Instead of continuing along the same track it is wiser to revise the original premises.

The long-lasting controversy on the delimitation of Belorussian (Br) from Ukrainian (U) texts of the middle period (late 14th through the 17th century) seems to be a case in point. Without going into the time gone-by when Br was considered by some scholars (e.g. Ohonovs'kyj¹) to be but a dialect of U and without offering a bibliographical survey² I shall limit myself to mentioning here those who have taken part in the discussion. Some have contributed special studies, other have touched on the problem in a broader context (usually in histories of the two standard languages), and still others have compiled lists of texts claimed to be specifically U or Br. Ja. Karski, P. Żytec'kyj, V. Lastowski, H. Omel'čenko, Je. Tymčenko, I. Ohijenko, A. Żurawski, L. Śakun, L. Humeć'ka, B. Strumiński, P. Pljušč, F. Żylko, A. Martel, C. Stang, M. Żovtobrjux, P. Tymošenko — these names come to one's mind — and the list is still, no doubt, far from complete. One must add those who participated in the discussion indirectly, by assigning a specific text to either Br or U, an apparently innocuous act in itself if done, so to speak, in passing but one which may become fraught with consequences if it so labels a text published reliably for the first time. An example is the publication of 14th and 15th-century charters by V. Rozov, *Ukrajins'ki hramoty* (Kiev, 1928)³ — are all of them Ukrainian? I. Ohijenko introduced the Act and Epistles of Krexiv into the scholarly circuit in a voluminous book entitled *Ukrajins'ka literaturna mova XVI st., I. Krexivs'kyj Apostol 1560-x rr.* (Warsaw, 1930) — is the text really Ukrainian? I. Bilodid included *Hramatyka slovenskaja* by I. Uževič in the series *Pamjatky ukrajins'koji movy XVII st.* (Kiev, 1970) and launched it as 'perša hramatyka vlasne ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy' (p. v). Is it? Daškevyč published some Turkish diplomatic correspondence dated 1541-1543 as Ukrainian.⁴ Beyond any doubt it is Br. As is generally known, Lastowski had similar claims on the Br side.⁵

Such 'annexations' probably seem to their perpetrators as important for enhancing the cultural tradition of the given nation, though

all they actually do is deprive that nation of its real history as its edifice sags or even crumbles under the pressure of these extraneous bodies. This is what has happened to the early history of the Russian language: it is heavily distorted and hardly exists as a scholarly whole because of the mass inclusion of non-Russian data into it. It is maintained simply as an uncritically accepted set of internally contradicting clichés held together by the force of an extrascholarly pressure. Such a situation can just as easily prevail in the histories of the U and Br languages and literatures of the middle period if nationalistic gluttony is not exposed as one of the seven deadly sins. The self-presented gifts at the expense of the neighbor are more perilous than the *dona Danaorum*.

It is this danger of anarchy in the history of the Middle Ukrainian (MU) and Middle Belorussian (MBr) languages which makes it incumbent upon us to return to the century-long discussion and to attempt a revised view at it and at its subject. It seems that what is needed — apart from good will which we must assume is present on both sides — is not a revolution in approach but just greater precision in singling out the various facets of the problem. There are at least three points of view which can be applied to the delimitation of Br and U texts of the middle period and it is vitally important to keep them apart. The texts can be judged and classified from the viewpoint of the history of literature(s); of the history of the standard language(s); and of the history of the spoken language(s). Not that these criteria are new. One may find some rudimentary references to them, e.g. in Ohijenko,⁶ in Żurawski,⁷ a.o. But it seems that the distinction between the three has not been adhered to strictly enough.⁸

1. Literary problems can only be touched upon in this article. The fundamental fact is that the Belorussians and most of the Ukrainians (all except Bukovyna and Transcarpathia) lived in essentially one country, adhered to the same religion with the same church language, and had common interests and common enemies (and nothing is more unifying than common enemies!). There were no obstacles to the unimpeded circulation of ideas, books, and people. Concerning the last, the participation of the Belorussians in the population movements to the south, especially along the Dnieper, in the *Reconquista* of the territories below Kiev, which started in the late 15th and early 16th century, is well known, although the part they played in the formation of the Cossacks and the military and political center in and around Sič has not been emphasized sufficiently. No less known — and no less important — was the constant influx of intellectuals from the Ukraine to Vil'na (Vilnius), the political capital and the cultural center of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Even intellectuals from the properly Polish part of the country, i.e. mainly Galicia, were attracted to Vil'na and not to their 'own' political capital, Cracow, which alienated them by the differences in religion and cultural tradition, as did even more the Volhynians and the Kievans. There were no animosities among the Ukrainians and the Belorussians and I am not aware of any utterances by a contemporary which would stress the distinction between the two nationalities.

Under these conditions one must speak of one literary process. Naturally, writers may be classified by the place of their birth, education, or activity wherever there is sufficient information on such details. But such external criteria would be artificial and indeed superfluous for the understanding of the literature. And what if the same author wrote a book in the Ukraine and another in Belorussia? It would be rather ludicrous to cut his work in parts and to assign one part to the Ukrainian literature and the other to Br. Exceptions should be made for those works which only existed in manuscript form and where the available data suggest that they were used only regionally in one or the other country. This seems, e.g., to apply to some clearly Br texts in the Poznań collection of tales (*Povest' o Tryščane, Istoryja o Atyli a.o.*), — at least until their circulation in the Ukraine is demonstrated.

The literary process of the time may be most adequately presented as a history of interconnected local cultural centers such as Vil'na, Zabludaw, Ostrih-Derman', L'viv, later Orša-Kucein, etc. Then the differences between a Br. history of literature and a U history of literature for the period under discussion would be not so much in the scope of the authors, works, and styles analyzed as in a different degree of attention paid to the history of such local cultural centers.⁹

2. The situation is similar but more complicated with the standard language or, more accurately, standard languages: the ecclesiastic and the secular (with some compromises between the two). The ecclesiastic language remained essentially Church Slavonic (ChSI), not only in church service books but also in the original writings; it is enough to refer, e.g., to the Metropolitan Misail's *Poselstvo do Papeža Siksta IV* (1470s) or to the epistle to the Patriarch of Constantinople concerning Jonah Hlezná (ca. 1490).¹⁰ Local features crept into those texts, of course, but inadvertently. They can be exposed by the language historian as a superstratum over the ChSI foundation (as is done for material written before the 14th century) and, as expected, they are mostly either U or Br. But a third ingredient may also be found in such texts, and this may be identified as the standard secular language of the country; in fact Br or U contributions may be uncovered only under this disguise. This is especially true of texts deliberately aiming at linguistic compromise, such as the *Presopnycja Gospel* (1556-1561). It is a simplification when students speak of a compromise between ChSI and U in this and similar texts. Actually Abbot Hryhorij and Myxajlo Vasyľovyc' from Sjanik (Sanok) strove for a new unity of ChSI and secular traditions, not for the use of the U vernacular. U features are present in this text but only behind the façade of the standard secular language. It would be interesting to know if the same applies (with a quite different ratio of components) to Br features in Skaryna's translations.

This brings us to the question of the nature of that standard secular language, which conventionally may be called Ruthenian (Rth). If we stay within the period ending at 1577, Karski's characterization of this language as Br (drawn in 1893!) — if one disregards external

influences, mainly lexical and syntactic Polonisms — is basically correct.¹¹ One can go even farther and speak of its North Central Br dialectal basis. The qualification introduced by Stang that at the earliest decades of its formation in the chancery of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania there was a U (later Polissian) element in that language¹² is practically of minor importance because the trend was not continued after the late 15th century and, in addition, very few Br and U manuscripts are extant from this earlier time. The view that Br and U were consciously synthesized in that language¹³ is inadequate. There were no conditions for such a synthesis at the Vil'na princely chancery where that language was given shape. Paraphrasing the common saying in this case the rule *Cuius caput eius lingua* applied. Moreover, and more important, there are no U features, except for the first formative decades, in the texts written in and around Vil'na at the time under discussion.

The standard secular language, Rth, being thus Br, the Ukrainians in their use of it now and then introduced some U features precisely as they had done in ChSl. In such cases one could speak of Ukrainianisms in that language and one could apply the same method for extracting U features as is applied to ChSl texts. But the actual situation is much more complex, because the standard secular language of the time, when used outside of the region of its rise, i.e. outside of Belorussia proper, not only admitted, but even in most cases required, certain fairly regular substitutions. We are well aware of them in orthography and phonetics; whether they extended to vocabulary is not known, in any case there they were not striking.¹⁴

The inviting analogy is that with English-speaking countries of our time. A British English text coming to America is adapted orthographically: *valour* becomes *valor*, *organisation* is transformed into *organization*, etc. What is more important, the invisible standards of pronunciation differ strongly as, say, the vowel in the verb *to know*. The semblance of unity is maintained by the conservatism of the spelling alone.

The conservatism of orthography was also of major importance in Rth (and it is in this only — and even here but partially — that it continued the tradition from before the 14th century). The most striking features of Br pronunciation were not admitted into writing: *akan'e*, *cekanne-dzekanne*, nor were such U peculiarities as *u* from *o* and *e* in the newly closed syllables (Modern U *i*) and the so-called new *ě*. The latter, widely spread in Old U texts of the 12th through the 14th century, was eliminated as a rule in later texts and replaced by *e* in disregard of the pronunciation.¹⁵ But the scope of admitted and required substitutions in spelling was broader than in Modern English and by no means limited to unessential orthographic conventions. I shall go further into these substitutions below (in section 3). Here only two facts should be brought to the attention. One is the regularity of these substitutions. It is the merit of Aničěnka to have shown how systematically they were introduced in U copies of Br texts such as Žuhaj's of Skaryna's Bible or the 'Kievan' copy of the Lithuanian Statute (pp. 136-43 of his book cited in note 2).¹⁶ The

second is — and this is rarely realized — that the substitutions were of two kinds: not only U vs. Br but also U vs. Polissian and Polissian vs. the other two. These were the years in which the bilateral erosion of Polissian dialects into Br proper in the north and Ukrainian proper in the south was in progress, but the Polissian dialects were still a unit (although already a shrinking one) strong enough culturally to develop their own set of substitutes, most strikingly in the case of *ě*: while the standard secular language of the capital and the regions around it admitted the use of *e* instead of *ě* in all positions, the Polissian did not allow such a replacement in the stressed syllable and U proper did not allow it at all. There are also indications that even when *ě* was under stress and was so written, its sound value was [e] in Br proper, [ie] in Polissia, and [i] in U proper.

The inference from the above is that Rth was the common secular language for both Belorussians and Ukrainians, just as ChSl was their common standard ecclesiastic language. The admitted sets of substitutions, extremely useful as they are in the localization of texts, do not amount to a synthetic superunit or two or three literary languages. In the histories of the Br and U literary languages it should be considered as one language, the one shaped in North Central Belorussia. The difference between its treatment in the histories of the Br and U literary languages is to be in the emphasis on its basis or on specific sets of substitutions. If one speaks of the U literary language of the 16th century (within the period under consideration) whether deliberately or inadvertently one uses an ambiguous term. It is correct if what is understood is Rth as used by the Ukrainians; it is misleading if what is meant is a standard language based on U dialects and shaped by the Ukrainians for their own use. Such a U literary language did not exist at that time.

3. Contrary to the unity of the standard written language(s) there was beyond any doubt no unity in the spoken language. Furthermore, it was not just an agglomeration of regional dialects either. Such dialects of course existed but they were clearly subordinate to more general patterns: that of Br and that of U, with the transitional Polissian pattern. The historian of phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary of either language should not be deceived by the relative uniformity of the written language. It is for him that the delimitation of texts is of vital importance.

Today we are unable to carry out this delimitation by basing it on differences in vocabulary. But we cannot follow Żurawski (*op. cit.*, p. 81) when he says that the general delimitation will be possible only after the appearance (*vyxod*) of Old Br and Old U historical dictionaries.¹⁷ This is putting the cart before the horse. In order to have such dictionaries one has first to know which texts are to be used in which. The delimitation obviously must precede the compilation. The subsequent dictionaries will probably require minor corrections of the preliminary classification but these will hardly be sweeping.

Fortunately the delimitation of texts is in principle possible today. It can be performed for a great many texts on the basis of phonetic

and orthographic peculiarities. The very principle of substitution is rooted in the differences between the two languages. In addition, there are in most texts both handwritten and printed departures from the established general standard (including the admitted substitutions) due to insufficient training or slips of the writer, scribe, or printer which reflect the spoken language.

Before we proceed to a brief examination of the most typical substitutions and departures which make the localization of texts possible it is worth mentioning that the location of a text compilation is of lesser importance than intrinsic linguo-orthographic criteria. A U scribe could have worked in Vil'na, a Br monk could have written a text in a monastery near L'viv. Some texts written in the Ukraine and even in Moldavia are linguistically Br, e.g. the Luc'k charter of 1388, the note of Ștefan of Moldavia to Prince Alexander of 1499,¹⁸ the above mentioned Turkish diplomatic correspondence of 1541-1543 written in the lower reaches of the Dniester, etc.

The set of substitutions accepted in writing as we know it now was as follows:

1) The treatment of *ě*. As pointed out above, three patterns existed: *ě* > *e* in any position in Br proper; *ě* > *e* if unstressed only, in Polissian; *ě* kept intact in U proper.¹⁹ To exemplify: *město* — *mestá*, *město* — *mestá*, *město* — *městá* resp. The exceptions in U proper and Polissian with *e* instead of the stressed *ě* in words of the type *terpénie* have been discussed above. They do not make these texts Br or mixed. In many texts the stressed *ě* was reflected as *e* after *j* (e.g. *priexala*, *doexati* in the Peresopnycja Gospel, pp. 82, 98, 89 resp.). It obviously was considered elegant to write *e* in the words *hrěx* (*hřešniki*, Persopn. Gosp., 90), *čelověk* (*človecy*, Kamjanka Buz'ka Gospel, 1411), and *nedělja* (e.g. in Odrexova charter, mid-16th century²⁰). These mannerisms do not place the corresponding text into the group of Br, Polissian, or mixed. They are essentially foreign words *sui generis*.

2) The treatment of *r* from older sequences *rv* and *rb* between consonants: *ry* in Br (and Polissian) vs. *r* in U, e.g. *kryvavyj* vs. *kryvavyj* (Modern U *kryvavyj* is of a later date).

3) The reflex of *ę* in an unstressed position in Br (and Polissian) is rendered as *e*, in U as *ja*, e.g. *svetyj* vs. *svjatyj*. In this case the Br orthographic standard was Polissian in origin: there the unstressed *ę* actually had changed into *e*; but it was accepted in Br proper, where, because of *jakan'e*, no distinction was made between 'a and 'e in unstressed syllables. Moreover it probably seemed very appropriate in view of the general tendency to eschew any reflection of *akan'e* in writing, though in Br proper it actually was hypercorrect.

4) The spelling of *i* in such oblique cases of the pronoun (*u*)*ves* as *usix*, *usim* etc. in Br (and Polissian) vs. *ě* in U, a morphologically conditioned development in Br ('adjectivization' of the pronominal paradigm).

5) Br (and Polissian?) *u* vs. U *o* in adverbs ending in Br in *-kule* / *-kul'*, *-tule* / *-tul'* vs. *-kole* / *kol'*, *-tole* / *tol'* in U, cf. Modern Br *adkul'*, *dakul'* — Modern U *zvidkil'* / *zvidkiljá*.

Less consistently applied were the following substitutions:

6) Br (and Polissian) spelling of *o* after postdentals vs. U more frequent use of *e*, e.g. in Br texts *žona*, in U texts more often *žena*. This difference is due partly to a stronger adherence by U scribes to church spelling (in its Euthymian guise, see below) and partly to the fact that many — but not all — areas in the (Southwestern) Ukraine did not develop *o* in such cases at all.

7) Dispalatalization of *r* reflected by spellings *rv*, *ry*, *ra*, *ru* instead of *rb*, *ri*, *rja*, *rju* resp. is typical of Br (and Polissian) texts and less so of U because in the (Southwestern) Ukraine the dispalatalization of *r* had not affected most regions at that time. Thus, e.g. Br *urad* vs. U *urjad* / *urad*.

8) The postdentals were dispalatalized in U later (and not in all positions) than in Br (and Polissian). Therefore spellings of the type *žyvyj* characterize primarily Br while in U one finds both the *žyvyj* and *živyj* types. The more conservative attitude of U scribes could also have played some part here.

9) In the gen pl, Br (and Polissian) had only *-ej*, U both *-yj* and *-ej*, e.g. Br *nočej* vs. U *nočyj* / *nočej*. But the situation is complicated by the ChSl influence, which could result in occasional *-yj* form in Br texts also.

As a shibboleth by which Br texts can be identified as distinct from U ones specific forms of individual words can be useful: Br *teže* 'also' vs. U *tyž*, Br *kažnyj* 'each' vs. U *koždyj* / *každyj* (Modern Br *taksama*, *kožnyj*, Modern U *tež*, *kóžnyj*²¹).

The palatalization of consonants before *e* and *i* in Br vs. their non-palatalization in U was no doubt applied as an orthoepic substitution but with one exception it was not reflected in spelling: by the end of the period under consideration, a new letter *э* developed in Br from a purely graphic variant of *e* to denote the non-palatalizing pronunciation of consonants before *e*;²² U scribes did not accept the letter because they had no need of it: their consonants were not palatalized in that position in any case.

While the substitutions 1-6 were applied fairly regularly, 7-9 were less so. As distinct from all of them, departures from the accepted spelling should be distinguished. They were never applied systematically; moreover, they clearly were not intended. No text has them consistently. But they crept in time and again as an involuntary tribute to the actual pronunciation. For a student interested in the delimitation of Br and U texts they are in some cases no less important than the much more regular substitutions. The following should be watched for:

(1) *Akan'e* in Br vs. non-*akan'e* in U (and Polissian). A good collection of examples in E. Karskij, *Belorussy*, I, Moscow, 1955, pp. 135 ff.

(2) Coalescence of *i* and *y* in U (and partly Polissian) vs. their distinction in Br. In principle it was avoided in writing as tenaciously as *akan'e*. But it was much more difficult to do in the case of *i* / *y*: *akan'e* occurred in unstressed positions only and a verification with the stressed vowel within the inflexional or derivational paradigm in

most cases allowed the 'correct' spelling to be maintained intact.²³ Only exceptionally were there words without such an alternation which would have had to have been memorized. But the coalescence of *i* with *y* was total and most U scribes were unable to maintain by memory alone the distinction in spelling which had become dead in the language. Hence the practical importance of this confusion for the identification of U texts, although it clearly never acquired the status of a recognized substitution.

(3) U -*a* vs. Br (and Polissian) -*e* in neut subst of the type U *zillja*, Br *zélle*. The change, dating back in U to the mid-12th century, was not welcomed into the spelling throughout the entire period under scrutiny and even slips are not too frequent. Often it may be spotted through hypercorrect spellings with -*e* in the gen sg as in *tvoeho začatije* (Codex Hankenstein 13th c., quoted from the original manuscript, 83v) or nom/acc pl as in *majut imene swoi* 'they have their manors' (Żytomyr *ljustracija* 1545²⁴).

(4) Prothetic *v*- before stressed *o*- developed in Br; it is occasionally revealed by spellings of the type *uv-ozero* which the scribes apparently justified by considering *v* as part of the preposition rather than the noun.

(5) Br scribes were more inclined than U to replace *i* by *y* word-initially after prepositions ending in a consonant, writing e.g. *vynšyŋ* instead of *v(ɨ) inšyɨ*.

(6) The change *l* > *w* after *o* from *ɨ* and before a consonant (and in masc sg of the preterit) developed in Br a little earlier than in U. For the early part of the period under consideration spellings with *v* may point to the Br provenance of the text. But the practical value of this feature is minimal because in principle such spellings were carefully avoided.

It should be added, on the orthographic level, that the Euthymian reformed spelling (with the restoration of *jus velik* and omega, the use of *ɨ* after all word-final consonants whether palatalized or not, and *ɨ* after *r* and *l* in the words of the type *serce*, i.e. *srɔdce*, etc.) proved to be quite contagious in the Ukraine but touched Belorussia only superficially. As a rule Euthymian orthography earmarks U texts.

The above sets of substitutions (practiced broadly) and departures (creeping in now and then) make the identification of a text as Br or as U (or Polissian) feasible and often not difficult at all. Against these sets there can hardly be any doubt as to the Br character of such tales as *Tristan*, *Guido(n)*, *Attila*, *Troy*,²⁵ *Strasti Xristovy*,²⁶ on the *Three Kings*,²⁷ *O umučenii Pana našeho Esu Krista*,²⁸ and most works of the Judaizers, with the possible exception of *Šestokryl*, *Tajnaja tajnyx* (*Aristotolevy vrata*) and the *Book of Esther*.²⁹ These texts are virtually free of any U substitutions and departures.

On the other hand there are texts which are beyond all question U, such as the *Peresopnycja Gospel* 1556-1561 or the *Verba Gospel* 1560.³⁰ But purely U texts are rare and more often than not one has to deal with texts which combine U and Br features. Such texts come usually but not always from the Ukraine.

The mixed Br/U character of a text can depend on one of two facts:

(1) Whatever the substitutions were, the official language, the language of the capital, was still sublimated Br. Such a language is endowed with a special prestige and it imposes itself consciously or unconsciously upon the population at large. This was the case of the mid-16th century *ljustraciji* of the U castles (*Arxiv Jugo-zapadnoj Rossii* VI, 1 (Kiev, 1887), VII, 1 (1886) and VII, 2 (1890)) inasmuch as they were carried out and written down by the local people and not the central administration; many U charters also have scattered Belorussianisms. Some were introduced by prestige-conscious scribes; others may reflect the oral speech under conditions of migrations of Belorussians to the south mentioned above³¹ and communication with state officials and nobility coming from the north. The prevalence of Br over U was particularly strong from the late 15th century to the end of the period under consideration.

(2) Often texts were copied: in the Ukraine from the Br original or in Belorussia from the U one. In such copies the scribe introduced features of his own language but as a rule was unable (and probably not really trying) to eliminate all the non-compliant features of the underlying text. Such is probably the case of the *Čet'ja* of 1489,³² of the well publicized but unfortunately unpublished U copies of the *Skaryna Bible* translation, by *Vasyl' Zuhaj* from *Jaroslav* (1568-1569), by *Luka* of *Ternopil'* (1569), by *Dmytro* from *Zin'kiv* in *Podolia* (1575), and perhaps of the *Krexiv Apostol* referred to above.³³ Typically, for the period prior to 1569 U copies from Br originals rather than the reverse are more numerous, again due to the leading political and cultural role played before the Union of Lublin by the (North) Br part of the Great Duchy of Lithuania.

It would be futile to break a lance over the labeling of linguistically mixed texts (unless one set of correspondences clearly prevails) as either Br or U, if one has in mind historical phonology, morphology or syntax of U or Br. One can only accept their mixed character and work with their Ukrainianisms for the history of U and their Belorussianisms for the history of Br.

The suggested principles of classification will not satisfy those who would like to have all the U texts neatly delimited from the Br ones. But the historical reality of the time makes such tidiness unrealizable and a sensible student should not impose his longing for simple order upon the complexity of history, the more so because the suggested classification (or virtually giving it up in some cases) makes it feasible (and realistic) to exploit the data of the texts properly for the construction of a sound history of both U and Br, without marring it by the presence of extraneous data.

It is not the purpose of this article to give an inventory of the Middle Br vs. Middle U texts before 1577. Yet it seems appropriate to mention that at least for secular texts of the 14th and 15th centuries an attempt has been made to compile such an inventory by a group of linguists headed by *L. Humeč'ka* who worked in *L'viv* on such a partial historical dictionary of the U language. On pp. 23-44 of their *Probnij zošyt* (referred to above, note 17) a list of sources classified

as U may be found, the remaining ones being relegated to Br. The list is the result of serious and objective research and selection, and on the whole is sound. But time and again it still includes items which, according to the criteria suggested here, should be considered Br. To limit oneself to just an example or two: Charter 29 in Rozov's collection (pp. 53f) with its *o* in *Zudečovomъ*, *i* in *trimi* and random distribution of *ě* and *e* in all positions, including accented syllables (*vernijj*, *zěmli*, *vozrevše*, *namestъkomъ*, *deti* a.o.) cannot be U.³⁴ Also Br are charters 46 (*detem*, *nasledkomъ*; *hrošej*) and 56 (*imene* 'manor', *večne*, *deti*, *nalepej*; *žona*, *lovčoho*; *sъ* *ozeri*) from Arch. Sang.³⁵ Obviously definitive lists of U and Br texts of the 14th and 15th centuries are still a desideratum. It is not an easy task and there should and will be some overlappings in the two lists for items of mixed character but we are now in a position to carry it out. A sufficient amount of knowledge has been accumulated for such a performance; what is needed is self-restraint and discipline.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) E. Ogonowski, *Studien auf dem Gebiete der ruthenischen Sprache*, L'viv, 1880, p. 20.
- 2) This also has been done several times with various degrees of exhaustiveness. See, e.g. A. Żurawski, 'Nekatoryja pytanni belaruskaj-wkraïnskaj mownyx svujazej staražytnaha peryjadu', *Vesni AN BSSR* (Seryja hramadskix navuk), 1966, 2, pp. 79-81; and U. Aničėnka, *Bielaruskaj-wkraïnskaj piš'mova-movnyja svjazi*, Minsk, 1969, pp. 33-6.
- 3) The title probably was given not by Rozov, who was in the emigration, but by the editor, A. Kryms'kyj.
- 4) Ja. Daškevyč, 'Turec'ke dyplomatyčėne lystuvannja ukrajin'skoju movoju', *Slavia*, 38, 1969, and 'Turec'ki dyplomatyčėni lysty ukrajin'skoju movoju z 40-x rr. XVI st.', *Slavia*, 40, 1971.
- 5) See H. Omel'ėenko, 'Kotri pamjatky naležať ukrajinčejam i kotri bilorusam?', *ZIFV*, 9, 1926.
- 6) I. Ohienko, 'Rozmežuvannja pamjatok ukrajin'skix vid bilorus'kix', *Zapysky Čyna Sv. Vasylija Velykoho*, VI, 1-2, L'viv, 1935, p. 264.
- 7) Żurawski, *op cit.*, p. 85.
- 8) In the following discussion the period before the Union of Lublin (1569) will be considered. The conventional cut-off year is 1577. Although the situation did not change drastically through at least the first half of the 17th century some circumstances did. Therefore it is advisable to treat the two periods separately. (Many arguments in Aničėnka's book referred to in note 2 are blurred by the lack of distinction between the two periods.)
- 9) A specimen of the regional approach to the literature of the period is Z. Florczak's *Udział regionów w kształtowaniu się piśmiennictwa polskiego XVI wieku*, Warsaw, 1967. Nothing of the kind has been done for Br and U literature.
- 10) *Arxiv Jugo-zapadnoj Rossii*, p. I, vol. 7, Kiev, 1887; *Universitetskie izvestija*, 10, Kiev, 1904.
- 11) 'Po preobladanju v nem elementov belorusskoj reči, iazyvat' ego sleduet belorusskim jazykom.' (E. Karskij, 'Čto takoe drevnee zapadorusskoe narečie?', *Trudy po belorusskomu i drugim slavjanskim jazykam*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 253-62 (p. 262).)
- 12) C. S. Stang, *Die westrussische Kanzleisprache des Grossfürstentums Litauen*, Oslo, 1935, pp. 26, 50.

- 13) Espoused e.g. by L. Humec'ka. See her 'Voprosy ukrainsko-belorusskix jazykovyx svjazej drevnego perioda', *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, 1965, 2, 43, and by myself in 1953 (J. Šerech, *Problems in the Formation of Belorussian*, New York, p. 59) (but revised in 1956, see my *Teasers and Appeasers*, Munich, 1971, pp. 249f.).
- 14) The contrast between ChSl and Rth in their relation to U as drawn here is somewhat simplified. ChSl in its local recensions also admitted some substitutions; but as long as one remains within Eastern Slavic territory they were of a narrower range and at least in spelling much less systematically applied.
- 15) This resulted in the frequent appearance of *e* instead of the real, historical *ě* in substantives ending in original *-ěnie* derived from verbs in *-ěti* as *terpěti*: *terpěnie*, cf. such spellings in obviously U texts as *rozumie* in the Peresopnycja Gospel (1556-1561) (*Trudy 3 arxeologičeskogo s'ezda v Rossii*, 2, Kiev, 1878, p. 83), *povelenuju* in the Ostrih Bible (1581) (quoted after G. Freidhof, *Vergleichende sprachliche Studien zur Gennadius-Bibel (1499) und Ostroger Bibel (1580/81)*, Frankfurt a.M., 1972, p. 76). These are not lexical borrowings from Br but the result of the flight from the 'new *ě*', only ultimately — through orthographic convention — conditioned by the Br patterns.
- 16) It should be established, however, if these regular substitutions were applied in the entire Ukraine or only in its non-Lithuanian part. It seems that the Volhynians rather often endeavored to retain the Br pattern intact, especially in relation to *ě*, even against their own pronunciation. And the closer we come to the end of the period the stronger is the adherence to the Br pattern. Very typical in this respect is the Testament of Vasyľ Zahorov's'kyj, a Volhynian (district Volodymyr), the Castellán of Braclav (1577). The text systematically uses *e* for *ě* and only such slips as *kopěju* 'copy' acc sg, *pryjatelě* nom pl, *špytalě* acc pl (*Arxiv Jugo-zapadnoj Rossii*, I, 1, Kiev, 1859, pp. 74, 86, 89) betray that Zahorov's'kyj's real pronunciation was not identical with *e*. If these observations are correct one may speak of two lines in the development of Rth as the standard secular language in the Ukraine: gradual emancipation of the non-Lithuanian (Western) Ukraine from it; and gradual surrender of Polissian U (including Volhynia) to it in its basic, North Central Br form. Žuhaj was a Western Ukrainian, no doubt; where the 'Kievan' copy of the Lithuanian Status was written, we do not know.
- 17) Cf. an analogous statement in *Slovnyk staroukrajins'koji movy XIV-XV vv. Probnyj zošyt*, Kiev, 1964, p. 8.
- 18) Rozov, *op cit.*, no. 22, p. 42; I. Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare*, 2, Bucharest, 1913, p. 497.
- 19) With a sound value first of closed *e* and then *i*, which was, however, not confused with the old *i* because the latter by that time had become *y*.
- 20) Quoted after G. Kryžanovskij, *Volynskie Eparcial'nye vedomosti*, 1886, No. 17-18, p. 120; and I. Kernyc'kyj, O. Kupčyn's'kyj ed., *Akty sela Odrėzovy*, Kiev, 1970, p. 45.
- 21) But in preambles of otherwise U charters *kažnyj* occurs in a cliché phrase 'znamenito kažnomu dobromu činim's' (e.g. Rozov, *op. cit.*, no. 82, p. 152) the same as another cliché of Br chanceries, in transference of property: acts, *na veky večnye* occurs with *e* in the charters which otherwise make a strict distinction between *ě* and *e* under stress (e.g. Rozov, *op. cit.*, no. 77, p. 142).
- 22) See examples in Aničėnka, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
- 23) Not automatically though: the scribe should also have known the rules of alternation, e.g. *o* in perfective verbs vs. *a* in the imperfective (iterative) ones as in *uhoditi*: *uhazati*, etc. That knowledge seems to have died out in our days: Aničėnka, p. 149 *pass.* takes such spellings with *a* for a manifestation of akan'e! Apparently to publish a book in Slavic historical linguistics acquaintance with Old ChSl (or even Polish for that matter) is no longer required.

- 24) *Arriv Jugo-zapadnoj Rossii*, VII, 1, p. 131.
- 25) As published by A. Veselovskij, *SbORJaS*, 44, 1888.
- 26) As published by N. Tupikov, *PDPII*, 140, 1901.
- 27) As published by V. Peretc, *PDPII*, 150, 1903.
- 28) As published by E. Karskij, *IORJaS*, 2, 1897.
- 29) See A. Sobolevskij in *SbORJaS*, 74, 1903, pp. 413, 419. Published by M. Speranskij, *PDPII*, 171, 1908 and V. Peretc, *Filolohičnyj zbirnyk pamjati K. Myxaľčuka*, Kiev, 1915.
- 30) As partly published by P. Zytce'kyj in *Trudy 3 arxeologičeskogo s'ezda v Rossii* 2, Kiev, 1878 (The Peresopnyca Gospel); and described by I. Ohijenko, *Sbornik v čest na prof. L. Miletič*, Sofia, 1933 (The Verba Gospel).
- 31) This movement of the Br population can be clearly seen in the data of the *ljustraciji* of Zytomyr, Kiev, Kaniv and Čerkasy, 1552, see *AJuZR*, VII, 1, pp. 80f, 85, 87f, 101, 103f, 112, 114, 116, 147. An eloquent illustration of how deep Br influence (directly or through Rth) was can be seen in the fact that in Armenian documents written in Qipčaq in Kamjanec' Podil's'kyj (1562-1566) one encounters along with numerous Ukrainianisms individual Br forms, e.g. *mesta* 'town'. See T. Grunin, ed., *Dokumenty na poloveckom jazyke XVI v.* (Sudebnye akty kamenec-podol'skoj armjanskoj obščiny), Moscow, 1967, pp. 174, 196, 213.
- 32) Described and partly published by V. Peretc, *Issledovanija i materialy po istorii starinnoj ukrainskoj literatury XVI-XVIII vekov*, 2, Leningrad, 1928 (*SbprJas*, 1).
- 33) The general type of its language, insofar as Ohijenko's description and the scanty fragments published by him allow us to judge, is Br; Ukrainianisms are more departures than substitutions; limited in number, they still are too numerous to be simply discarded (see on the new *ě*, p. 258, on confusion of *i* and *y*, pp. 268f, on confusion of *ě* and *i*, p. 239, although not all examples are pertinent). If it is not a U copy from a Br text (which seems not to be very plausible for chronological and cultural reasons) the text should have been written by a Br dwelling in a U area and partly affected by U speech. At any rate the significance of the text for the history of U is limited.
- 34) W. Kuraszkiewicz was aware of that in 1934 (see his *Gramoty halicko-wołyńskie XIV-XV wieku*, Kraków, p. 49).
- 35) *Archiwum ksiąg Łubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie*, 1, L'viv, 1887, pp. 46, 62f.

Stanza, Rhyme and Metre in Nineteenth-Century Byelorussian Verse. Some Statistical Observations

BY

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The nineteenth century is an important period in the history of Byelorussian versification for it saw a number of major evolutionary changes: from the syllabic verse which, partly under Czech and Polish influence, had flourished in the late mediaeval period, to syllabo-tonic patterns and finally, in Bahuševič and his contemporaries, the tonic verse which was to find its ultimate justification as the foundation for Bahdanovič's *vierš bielaruskaha składu*. The study of Byelorussian versification is still in its infancy and has hitherto tended to suffer from an imprecise approach based on impression rather than detailed factual analysis.¹ This is particularly true of the 19th and early 20th centuries where the strong influence of folk poetics on many works make it difficult to apply normal criteria or use conventional descriptive terminology without a considerable element of artificiality.

The present study aims to use statistical and other factual material to make this complex and elusive subject less ambiguous. Table 1 shows, for convenience, the 19th-century writers and poetical texts in approximately chronological order, together with abbreviations where these are used in the statistical tables. Table 2 lists in alphabetical order the poems (with abbreviations) for which dates are unknown and difficult to surmise from internal or external evidence.² Asterisked writers and texts in Tables 1-2 are those which are not subsequently mentioned in this study: all belong to the group of 29 poems with no regular or classifiable metre.³

1. Two recent studies, however, show signs of deeper research and scholarship: I. D. Ralko, *Bielaruskij vierš. Staronki historyi i teoryi*, Minsk, 1969, and M. M. Hrynčyk, *Šlachi bielaruskaha vieršaskładannia*, Minsk, 1973. Both are reviewed in *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, II, 2, p. 241, and the present issue, respectively.

2. For more detailed information regarding dates of composition and publication the reader is referred to the bibliography in the present author's 'A Conspectus and Bibliography of Byelorussian Literature in the Nineteenth Century', *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, II, 3, London, 1971, pp. 271-88, upon which this study is based.

3. See below.

TABLE 1

POETS AND ANONYMOUS POEMS IN APPROXIMATELY
CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Barščeŭski (<i>Bar</i>)	<i>Hutarka Danily sa Šciapanam (HDsaŠ)</i>
<i>Enieida navyvarat (En)</i>	<i>Hutarka dvuch susiedaŭ (HDS)</i>
Bahrym (<i>Bahr</i>)	<i>Hutarka staraha dzieda (HSD)</i>
<i>Vinšavaŭnie Savašcieja*</i>	<i>Pieśń na boży čas*</i>
<i>Pozdravitel'noje stichotvorenije so</i>	Savič (<i>Sav</i>)
<i>dnem angela (PS)</i>	Savič-Zabłočki (<i>S-Z</i>)
<i>Taras na Parnasie (TP)</i>	Pratasievič (<i>Pr</i>)
Lehatovič (<i>Leh</i>)	<i>Hutarka ŭ karčmie (HŭK)</i>
Rypinski (<i>Ryp</i>)	Horevid (<i>Hor</i>)
Čačot (<i>Čač</i>)	Jelski (<i>Jel</i>)
Arcimoŭski (<i>Arc</i>)	Mihanovič (<i>Mih</i>)
Dunin-Marcinkievič (<i>D-M</i>)	Bahuševič (<i>Bahu</i>)
Viaryha-Dareŭski (<i>V-Dar</i>)	Hurynovič (<i>Hur</i>)
Syrakomla (<i>Syr</i>)	Łučyna (<i>Łuč</i>)
Karatkievič (<i>MK</i>)	Tapčeŭski (<i>Tap</i>)
V. Karatynski (<i>VK</i>)	Šunkievič (<i>Šun</i>)
Jakub T-ki (<i>T-ki</i>)	Tamaševič (<i>Tam</i>)
Vul (<i>Vul</i>)	Viten-Dubiejkaŭski (<i>V-Dub</i>)
Pčycki (<i>Pčy</i>)	Staŭbun (<i>Staŭ</i>)
Blus (<i>Blu</i>)	Abuchovič (<i>Abu</i>)
<i>Schod*</i>	

TABLE 2

UNDATED POEMS

<i>Chimka z Hankaju*</i>	<i>Pač duđu (Pd)</i>
<i>Dudar*</i>	<i>Panskaja taška (PŁ)</i>
<i>Hej, kab nam być viesialej (HKN)</i>	<i>Pračystaja siarod nočy (PSN)</i>
<i>Hutarka Kužmy z Apanasam (HKA)</i>	<i>Razmova pana z chłopam*</i>
<i>Hutarka Paŭluka (HP)</i>	<i>Stary Vosip baradaty (SVB)</i>
<i>B. Karatynski, Chto našaj mužyckaj</i>	<i>Tatur, Pradki (Tat)</i>
<i>movaj (BK)</i>	<i>Teatr*</i>
<i>K-ko, Mahiŭki (K-ko)</i>	<i>Viasna hola pierapała (VHP)</i>
<i>Maładzikova hutarka (MH)</i>	<i>Voš ciapier jaki lud staŭ (VCJ)</i>
<i>N. F., Nočcu ŭ siale (N. F.)</i>	<i>Voš vidzićie vy, dzieci*</i>
<i>Novejšije stichi (NS)</i>	<i>Ziamielka maja (Zm)</i>
<i>Oj, vjašnica, viasna*</i>	

Stanzas are perhaps the least studied aspect of Byelorussian versification, although in the opinion of some commentators they 'demonstrate the general level of a country's poetic culture'.⁴ However, of the 223 poems (totalling 21,042 lines) which comprise 19th-century Byelorussian poetry⁵ only 99 (44.4%) have any kind of regular stanza. Of these, 73 are completely regular, 9 have 2 different types of stanza, 8 have more than 2 types, and 9 are only partially divided strophically. Of the 73 poems with completely regular stanzas 59 (80.8%) consist of quatrains; there are also 6 with stanzas of 5 lines, 3 with 8, and 1 poem with regular 10-line stanzas.⁶ It is

4. See, for example, M. M. Hrynčyk, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

5. Statistics relating to Byelorussian literature are still to some extent fluid, as from time to time discoveries of lost works continue to be made.

6. Hurynovič's *Himn (Viečny revalucyjaniej)*, a translation from the Ukrainian of Ivan Franko which preserves the metre, stanza formation and rhyme scheme (abbaccddde) of the original.

perhaps not surprising that of the 59 poems with regular quatrains just under half (29) have alternate rhymes (*abab*), traditionally the most common rhyme scheme for quatrains in the poetry of many countries.⁷ The figures for the remaining rhyme schemes (17 couplets (*aabb*), 11 *abcb*, 1 a mixture of *aabb* and *abab*, and 1 *abab caca dada*)⁸ are swollen by Čačot's *Pieśni*: 12 *aabb* and 9 *abcb*. Without Čačot's poems the proportion of regular quatrains with the rhyme scheme *abab* would be considerably higher (74.4%).

Of all the 73 poems with completely regular stanzas 30 (41.1%) have the rhyme scheme *abab*, 22 (30.1%) *aabb*, 11 (15.6%) *abcb*, 1 (1.4%) a mixture of *aabb* and *abab*, and 9 (12.3%) do not conform to any of these schemes. That there are only 9 such poems perhaps reflects in part the general lack of strophic development in 19th-century Byelorussian poetry. Apart from the Hurynovič translation and Viaryha-Dareŭski poem already mentioned, they comprise the following: Hurynovič's translation from Kasprovicz, *Viasna* ('Zdrast-vuj, krasnaja viasna...' — *abacdbcd*; Horevid's *Ja kliču Vas* — *abcbca*; Barščeŭski's *Ach, čym ža tvaja, dzievaŭka, haťoŭka zaniata?* — *aabb*; Bahuševič's *Durny mužyk, jak varona* — 6 x *aabbccrr*, 1 x *aabcberr*; and finally 3 of Čačot's *Pieśni* — *aabbr*.

Of the 9 poems with 2 types of stanza 8 simply represent the introduction of 1 different stanza into an otherwise regular pattern: for example, Bahrym's *Zajhraj, zajhraj, chłopča mały* ends with a 5-line stanza rather than a quatrain. More interesting is Łučyna's *Busieł* which alternates 5-line stanzas with quatrains (*abaab cdc*). The 8 poems with mixed stanzas include 3 of Dunin-Marcinkievič's works: *Hapon* (quatrains and 6-, 8- and 12-line stanzas), *Vierš Nauma Pryhavorki* (quatrains and 6- and 8-line stanzas) and *Bylicy, raskazy Nauma* (up to 12 lines, but with a preponderance of quatrains). The first of Blus's verse tracts *Reč starovojsa krest'janam o svobode (dlja narodnogo čtenija)* has quatrains and 6- and 8-line stanzas, the latter predominating, whilst its sequel *Reč starovojsa (dlja čtenija moim zemljakam)* has a variety of different stanzas, largely unorganised, ranging from 4 to 12 lines in length. Bahuševič's *Maja chata* has quatrains and 6- and 8-line stanzas, whilst the anonymous *Pozdravitel'noje stichotvorenije so dnem angela* has 7 stanzas of 10 lines, and 1 each of 11 and 13 lines. The semantically divided sections of *Taras na Parnasie* (16 to 32 lines in length) can hardly be described as stanzas.

The 9 poems which are only partially divided into stanzas comprise 2 of Čačot's philomath poems — from *Jeżowe* (quatrains and 6-line stanzas) and from *Adamowe i Tomaszowe* (quatrains), and the following of Dunin-Marcinkievič's works: *Pavinšavaŭnie Vojsa Nauma* (6- and 8-line stanzas), *Viečarnicy* (couplets, quatrains and 6- and 8-line stanzas), *Kupała* (quatrains and 6- and 8-line stanzas), *Chalimon na karanacyi* (as *Kupała*), *Ščaroŭskija dažynki* (as *Kupała*), *Travica brat-siastryca* (as *Kupała*), and *Pinskaja šlachta* (couplets, quatrains and 6- and 8-line stanzas).

7. See, for example, B. O. Unbegaun, *Russian Versification*, Oxford, 1956, p. 74.

8. Viaryha-Dareŭski's *Adaška, rodny Adaška*.

Finally, the number of works with strophic division may be shown as a proportion of the six leading poets' total *opus*: Čačot 93.7%, Dunin-Marcinkievič 83.3%, Bahuševič 27.9%, Hurynovič 29.2%, Łučyna 72.2%, and Tapčėuski 80.0%. Taken together their average (63.0%) is notably higher than the equivalent percentage for the century as a whole (44.4%).

A feature relating to the folk inspiration behind much of 19th-century Byelorussian poetry is the use of a refrain at the end of 9 of the poems (4 of Čačot, 2 of Bahuševič, 2 of Łučyna and 1 of Tatur), usually in the form of 1 or 2 lines repeated in each verse; Łučyna's *Nadta salodkija dumki* repeats the last 2 lines of alternate (even) stanzas. Other types of repetition are also found, but with less regularity: Horevid's *Ja kliču Vas* opens each stanza with the same phrase, Čačot's *Kab u karčmie nie siadzieŭ* repeats the opening line (in 3 out of 4 stanzas), and in each stanza of Hurynovič's *Viasna* (see above) the 3rd line repeats the 1st, and the 7th line repeats the 5th, with only a slight variation of the 7th line in the 1st and last stanzas.

The figures for the rhyme schemes of the 73 poems with regular stanzas (see above) may be compared with those for all the 223 poems under consideration: 74 (33.2%) *aabb*, 63 (28.3%) *abab*, 34 (15.2%) mixed *aabb* and *abab*, 10 (4.0%) *abcb*, 2 (0.9%) *aabb* and *abba*, and 5 (2.2%) *aabb*, *abab* and *abba*; the remaining 35 poems have irregular or inconsistent rhyme schemes, but include 19 that are basically *aabb*, 7 basically *abab*, 5 mixed *aabb* and *abab*, and 4 that are without rhyme.⁹ If these figures are added to those for verses with consistent rhyme schemes the proportions are as follows: 42.1% *aabb*, 31.4% *abab*, and 2.2% mixed *aabb* and *abab*.

Table 3 shows the number of poems with the 6 main rhyme schemes (including irregular elements) in the work of the leading poets. The bracketed numbers show the preceding figure as a percentage of the writer's total verse output.

TABLE 3

THE RELATIVE INCIDENCE OF PRINCIPAL RHYME SCHEMES

	<i>aabb</i> %	<i>abab</i> %	<i>aabb</i> & <i>abab</i> %	<i>abcb</i> %	<i>aabb</i> & <i>abba</i> %	<i>aabb</i> , <i>abab</i> & <i>abba</i> %
Čač	20(62.5)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.2)	10(31.2)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
D-M	1 (8.3)	0 (0.0)	4 (33.3)	0 (0.0)	2 (16.6)	5 (41.6)
Bahu	10(23.2)	22(51.2)	11 (25.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Hur	7(29.2)	12(50.0)	5 (20.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Łuč	6(33.3)	10(55.5)	2 (11.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Tap	1(20.0)	4(80.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)

It is noticeable that in the work of these poets (with the exception of Čačot) plain couplets (*aabb*) form a smaller proportion of the total than they do in the average for the century as a whole which includes a considerable number of anonymous verses, many of them folk-based, for which rhyming couplets are the principal organising factor. The limitation of combinations involving enclosing rhyme (*abba*) to one writer, Dunin-Marcinkievič, is to some extent a reflection of the latter's comparatively great interest in stanza and rhyme. None of

9. *Horki p'janica*, *P'janica*, *Što ja kamu vinavat?* and *Łavryja* from *Novejšije stichi* in Je. R. Romanov, *Belorusskij sbornik*, I, 5, Viciebsk, 1891, pp. 431-7.

his strophically divided poems¹⁰ employs less than 2 types of stanza and rhyme scheme, and many (*Hapon*, for example) contain great variations within the compass of one poem. A particularly characteristic stanza of Dunin-Marcinkievič is the 6-line *aabccb* which occurs in *Hapon*, *Viečarnicy*, *Kupała*, *Chalimon na karanacyi*, *Ščaroŭskija dažynki* and *Travica brat-siastryca*.

Three types of rhyme, masculine, feminine, and dactylic, are found in Byelorussian 19th-century verse. Most frequently met is a combination of masculine and feminine, accounting for 65.0% of the total number of poems considered; exclusively feminine represents 25.6%, and exclusively masculine 4.9%.

Table 4 shows the number of poems with these types of rhyme in the work of the leading poets. The bracketed numbers show the preceding figure as a percentage of the writer's total verse output.

TABLE 4
THE RELATIVE INCIDENCE OF PRINCIPAL RHYME TYPES

	MF ¹¹ %	F %	M %
Čač	18 (56.2)	9 (28.1)	3 (9.4)
D-M	10 (84.6)	2 (15.4)	0 (0.0)
Bahu	26 (60.5)	14 (32.4)	1 (2.3)
Hur	12 (50.0)	7 (29.1)	4 (16.6)
Łuč	3 (16.6)	12 (66.6)	1 (5.5)
Tap	4 (80.0)	1 (20.0)	0 (0.0)

No poem consists entirely of dactylic rhymes, but 8 verses contain dactylic rhymes in various combinations with the other two types. Łučyna's *Rodnaj staroncy* and *Usioj trupie dabradzieja Staryckaha bielaruskaje slova* combine dactylic and feminine rhymes in roughly equal proportions, and Hurynovič's *Bor* has alternate masculine and dactylic rhymes. Čačot's *A maja ž kvietacka* opens with 4 lines of dactylic rhyme, and his *Nie na toje Boh stvaryŭ* ends each stanza with a dactylic couplet refrain; in both poems the remaining lines have masculine rhyme. In Bahuševič's *Smyk* there is 1 dactylic rhyme inserted in a poem consisting otherwise of masculine rhymes, and in the anonymous *Ziamielka maja* only the 2nd line has a dactylic ending, the remainder being masculine and feminine. Lastly, Bahuševič's translation from Krylov, *Sviŭnia i žaludy*, has 1 dactylic rhyme in addition to 4 feminine and 3 masculine. A popular combination of rhyme scheme and type is *MFMFabab*, accounting for 20.1% of all the 19th-century poems, and, in particular, 30.2% of Bahuševič's, 33.3% of Hurynovič's, and 60.0% of Tapčėuski's poems.

Finally, mention must be made of the Leonine verse pattern that is found in some 10 of the 19th-century poems: Čačot's *Jak to dobra, kali mužyk* and *Oj čamu ty zazulačka*, Arcimoŭski's *Pani Tvardoŭskaja*, Bahuševič's *Udava* and *Panskaja łaska*, Hurynovič's *Viesialčak*, and

10. Only the translation of *Pan Tadeusz*, and the short verse *Zaŭtra spasa, kažuć ludzie* are not divided into stanzas.

11. The *MF* group includes a number of poems where although the rhymes are mixed one type predominates. Principally *F*: Čačot 4; Dunin-Marcinkievič 3; Bahuševič 4; Hurynovič 1. Principally *M*: Čačot 3; Bahuševič 1; Tapčėuski 1.

Łučyna's *Nadta satodkija dumki, Pahudka, Što ptuški kazali and Viasnovaj paroj*. Leonine elements are also found in 2 of Barščeŭski's verses, *Ach, čym ža tvaja, dzievańka, haloŭka zaniata?* and *Harelica*, although they are not fully developed.¹² Hrynčyk is inclined to regard these elements in Barščeŭski and in Łučyna's *Pahudka* as linked with Polish traditions, but in the latter writer's *Viasnovaj paroj*, as in Bahuševič's *Panskaja łaska* and the poems of Kupala and Kołas, as related to the Ukrainian *kolomyjka* and folk traditions.¹³

The influence of folk metre and rhythms on much of 19th-century Byelorussian verse makes it impossible to categorise with even the modest degree of accuracy that prosodists dealing with more 'literary' poetry may hope to achieve.¹⁴ In attempting to label recalcitrant material the present writer has adopted a more conservative approach than his immediate predecessors, which in part explains the large number of poems which are not felt to fit into any 'established' category. The 223 poems under consideration may be divided into four main groups, each of which is capable of further subdivision: strict syllabic¹⁵ 40 (17.9%), syllabo-tonic 37 (16.6%), tonic 31 (13.9%), and miscellaneous (i.e. poems not clearly fitting one of the first three categories) 115 (51.6%). Table 5 shows the number of works by each of the 10 principal poets falling into the 4 main groups. The bracketed numbers show the preceding figure as a percentage of the whole.

TABLE 5

THE TYPES OF VERSE USED BY THE PRINCIPAL WRITERS

	Syllabic %	Syllabo-tonic %	Tonic %	Miscellaneous %
<i>Bar</i>	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (100.0)
<i>Čač</i>	9 (28.1)	1 (3.1)	0 (0.0)	22 (68.7)
<i>D-M</i>	4 (33.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	8 (66.7)
<i>V-Dar</i>	1 (33.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (66.7)
<i>Bahu</i>	6 (13.9)	6 (13.9)	19 (44.2)	12 (27.9)
<i>Hur</i>	5 (20.8)	7 (29.2)	7 (29.2)	5 (20.8)
<i>Łuč</i>	9 (50.0)	4 (22.2)	3 (16.7)	2 (11.1)
<i>Tap</i>	1 (20.0)	4 (80.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
<i>Jel</i>	1 (25.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (75.0)
<i>Abu</i>	0 (0.0)	4 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)

12. Ralko also sees 8/6 Leonine elements in some of Dunin-Marcinkievič's works, although here, as in Barščeŭski, they are kept in long (14-syllable) lines rather than broken. I. D. Ralko, *op. cit.*, p. 105. A case in point would seem to be *Vierš Nauma Pryhavorki*.

13. It is curious, however, that he also sees in Barščeŭski's 'Leonine' poems a slight approach to a tonic basis. M. M. Hrynčyk, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 143, 192-3, 208 and 223.

14. The question of popular or folk versification is itself a still under-researched subject, so that whilst many writers (Barščeŭski, Čačot and Dunin-Marcinkievič in the early part of the century or Hurynovič, Tapčeŭski and Abuchovič at the end of it, for example) sought to fuse literary and popular elements in their poetry, it is often difficult to come to precise conclusions about the resulting hybrid forms.

15. The term 'strict syllabic' refers to verses whose lines fulfil three conditions: a fixed number of syllables, exclusively feminine rhyme and a regular caesura where appropriate (i.e. in the longer lines).

The relationship between the number of Dunin-Marcinkievič's regular syllabic verses and his 'irregular' works reflects his not entirely successful attempts to adapt the syllabic system of versification to what he saw as specifically Byelorussian needs, by increasing the importance of tonic elements in his still basically syllabic verse. A comparison of his Polish and Byelorussian poems reveals the latter to be much freer. It is interesting that poems in strict syllabic metre continued to be written throughout the century even by writers like Bahuševič, Hurynovič and Łučyna who were at the same time seeking characteristically Byelorussian forms. The figures clearly reflect the experimental nature of these three poets' work, and in particular the role of Bahuševič in developing Byelorussian tonic verse, both in 2-stress lines with their close links with folk-intonational poetry, and in 4-stress lines, often with an undeveloped amphibrachic cadence, which probably had their origin in 12- and 13-syllable Polish verse (see Table 11 below).

Table 6 shows the number of poems with strict syllabic verse arranged according to the different measures.

TABLE 6

THE INCIDENCE OF SYLLABIC VERSE

	%
6 syllables	6 (15.0)
8 "	16 (40.0)
8/6 " (alternately)	5 (12.5)
10/6 " "	1 (2.5)
11 "	4 (10.0)
12 "	3 (7.5)
13 "	1 (2.5)
14 "	1 (2.5)
(Mixed) 8 & 11 "	1 (2.5)
" 8 & 12 "	2 (5.0)

Table 7 shows the occurrence of different types of syllabic verse in individual writers and texts. The latter, as in subsequent tables, are arranged in approximately chronological order.

TABLE 7

THE INCIDENCE OF SYLLABIC VERSE IN INDIVIDUAL WRITERS AND TEXTS

	6	8	8/6	10/6	11	12	13	14	8 & 11	8 & 12
<i>Čač</i>	1	6	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
<i>N. F.</i>	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>K-ko</i>	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D-M</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2
<i>V-Dar</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
<i>HDS</i>	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Sav</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Jel</i>	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
<i>Bahu</i>	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Hur</i>	—	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Łuč</i>	—	3	4	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Tap</i>	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

From Tables 6-7 may be observed the 19th-century poets' preference for short rather than long syllabic metres, a preference which is also reflected in the figures for the 'miscellaneous' poems which do not fit exactly any of the three 'established' types where there are over four times as many irregular short syllabic as long syllabic lines. See Tables 12-15 below.

Whilst regular syllabo-tonic metres account for only 13.9% of all the poems under consideration, there are intermittent elements of syllabo-tonic rhythm in very many verses which are, however, too inconsistent to be described as regular syllabo-tonic. Hrynčyk, for example, notes a tendency to ternary metres in Bahušević, but in fact only 1 of his poems (*Achviara*) maintains a regular ternary metre (3-foot anapaests); similarly, Łučyna's poems are described as having a basically binary metre, although close analysis reveals only 3 of his poems to be regular in this respect: *Karšun* (4-foot iambs), and *Što dumaje Janka, viežučy drovy ŭ horad* and *Nie ja pjaŭu — narod božy* (4-foot trochees).¹⁶ Another case in point is Karatynski's 40-line *Ustavajma, bratcy!* written in 4-stress tonic verse, but with 15 unsuccessful lines in regular 4-foot dactylic metre.

Tables 8-9 show the number of poems with the different types of syllabo-tonic metre, and their occurrence in individual writers and texts.

TABLE 8

THE INCIDENCE OF SYLLABO-TONIC METRES

	%
Iambic Trimeter	1 (2.7)
Iambic Tetrameter / Trimeter	1 (2.7)
Iambic Tetrameter	8 (21.6)
Trochaic Tetrameter / Trimeter	3 (8.1)
Trochaic Tetrameter	17 (45.9)
Free Trochees	1 (2.7)
Amphibrachic Trimeter	1 (2.7)
Amphibrachic Tetrameter / Trimeter	1 (2.7)
Amphibrachic Tetrameter	1 (2.7)
Anapaestic Dimeter / Amphibrachic Dimeter	1 (2.7)
Anapaestic Trimeter	2 (5.4)

The preponderance of trochaic metres, and tetrameters in particular, is perhaps not surprising in view of the frequency with which the trochaic cadence occurs in folk poetry. Indeed, the trochaic tetrameter was widely used by Russian imitators of popular verse in the 18th century.¹⁷ The iambic tetrameter, however, easily the most commonly used Russian metre from the 18th century to the present day,¹⁸ finds relatively little reflection in Byelorussian 19th-century verse, apart from the three important anonymous poems in the early part of the century.

16. M. M. Hrynčyk, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 144.

17. B. O. Unbegaun, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-3.

18. For example, over half Puškin's lines are in this metre. Unbegaun, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

TABLE 9

THE INCIDENCE OF SYLLABO-TONIC METRES IN INDIVIDUAL WRITERS AND TEXTS

	I. Tr.	I. Te/Tr.	I. Te.	T. Te/Tr.	T. Te.	Fr. T.	Am. Tr.	Am. Te/Tr.	Am. Te.	Am. Dim./Am. Dim.	An. Tr.
<i>En</i>	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>PS</i>	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>TP</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Leh</i>	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Čač</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>VHP</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>VCJ</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Arc</i>	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>VK</i>	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Vul</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Bahu</i>	—	1	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	1
<i>Hur</i>	—	1	—	—	2	—	1	—	1	1	1
<i>Łuč</i>	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—
<i>Tap</i>	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Sun</i>	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>V-Dub</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Abu</i>	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—

Tables 10-11 show the number of poems with the various types of tonic metre, and their occurrence in individual writers and texts.

TABLE 10

THE INCIDENCE OF TONIC VERSE

	%
2-stress	9 (29.0)
2-stress / 4-stress	1 (3.2)
3-stress	3 (9.7)
4-stress	18 (58.1)

TABLE 11

THE INCIDENCE OF TONIC VERSE IN INDIVIDUAL WRITERS

	2S	2S/4S	3S	4S
<i>Ryp</i>	—	—	1	—
<i>VK</i>	—	—	—	1
<i>Bahu</i>	5	—	2	12
<i>Hur</i>	4	1	—	3
<i>Łuč</i>	—	—	—	3

Of the 115 miscellaneous poems which cannot be strictly classified as either syllabic, syllabo-tonic or tonic the majority (85) may be grouped according to the number of syllables, or approximate number of syllables, per line. Of these 85, 42 (49.4%) are in short lines

(of up to 9 syllables), 10 (11.8%) are in long lines (of over 9 syllables) 10 (11.8%) are in alternating lines, and 13 (15.3%) are in a mixture of 2 or 3 kinds of syllabically organised lines. Finally, 11 (12.9%), although irregular in line-length, show a tendency towards a particular length in the majority of their lines. The remaining 29 poems, which are too irregular to be classified, include 3 by Dunin-Marcinkievič (*Pavinšavañnie Vojta Nauma, Viečarnicy*¹⁹ and *Travica brat-siastryca*) and Bahuševič (*Hdzie čort nie moža, tam babu pašle, Svaja ziamla and Šviñni i barany*), 2 by Barščeŭski (*Harelica*²⁰ and *Rabunki myžykoŭ*²¹ and Jelski (*Pan Tadeuś* and *Synok*), and 1 each by Karatkievič (*Biela-ruski Dudaru*), Pratasievič (*Susiedčyk Haviejski*), and Staübun (*Chto ja?*); all the other unclassified poems are anonymous, ranging from extended narratives like *Hutarka ŭ karčmie* to the doggerel *P'janica* (which lacks both metre and rhyme).²²

Table 12 refers to the group of 42 miscellaneous poems with short lines which are of fixed length but without exclusively feminine endings and/or a regular pattern of stresses. Table 13 shows the occurrence of these poems in individual writers and texts.

TABLE 12

THE INCIDENCE OF MISCELLANEOUS VERSES WITH SHORT LINES

	0/0
6 syllables	1 (2.4)
7 "	8 (19.0)
8 "	5 (11.7)
6-8 "	3 (7.1)
7-8 "	14 (33.3) ²³
7-9 "	7 (16.7)
8-9 "	4 (9.5) ²⁴

19. Hrynčyk presents a formal analysis of the line-lengths (7, 8, 9, 10, 10/11, 11, 11/12 and 12 syllables) in this work and shows how as the poem progresses through its three parts the proportion of long lines increases and that of short lines decreases. M. M. Hrynčyk, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

20. A very disorganised verse with faint and irregular 8/6 Leonine elements.

21. This narrative poem appears to find its prosodic origins in pre-syllabic folk tonic systems. That it should be 'unclassifiable' whereas Rypinski's more regular, but otherwise not dissimilar *Niačyścik* falls into the category of 3-stress tonic (see Table 11) underlines the difficulty of applying conventional terms to unconventional verse.

22. See n. 9.

23. 12 of the 14 poems have 7-syllable masculine and 8-syllable feminine lines.

24. 2 of the 4 poems have 8-syllable masculine and 9-syllable feminine lines.

TABLE 13

THE INCIDENCE OF MISCELLANEOUS SHORT-LINE VERSES
IN INDIVIDUAL WRITERS AND TEXTS

	6	7	8	6-8	7-8	7-9	8-9
<i>Bahr</i>	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
<i>PSN</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>SVB</i>	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
<i>BK</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>Ryp</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>Čač</i>	—	8	—	—	—	—	—
<i>D-M</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>V-Dar</i>	—	—	1	—	1	—	—
<i>Syr</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>HKN</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>HKA</i>	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
<i>VK</i>	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>T-ki</i>	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
<i>Pčy</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>NS</i>	—	—	—	1	—	2	1
<i>PL</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>S-Z</i>	—	—	1	—	—	1	1
<i>Hor</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
<i>Jel</i>	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
<i>Mih</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>Bahu</i>	—	—	2	1	2	—	1
<i>Hur</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>Tam</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>V-Dub</i>	—	—	1	—	—	—	—

Table 14 refers to the group of 10 miscellaneous poems with long lines which are of fixed length but without exclusively feminine endings and/or a regular pattern of stresses. Table 15 shows the occurrence of these poems in individual writers and texts.

TABLE 14

THE INCIDENCE OF MISCELLANEOUS VERSES WITH LONG LINES

10 syllables	1
11 "	1
12 "	2
10-11 "	1 ²⁵
11-12 "	3 ²⁶
11-13 "	1
19 "	1

25. This poem has 10-syllable masculine and 11-syllable feminine lines.

26. 1 of these 3 poems has 11-syllable masculine and 12-syllable feminine lines.

TABLE 15

THE INCIDENCE OF MISCELLANEOUS LONG-LINE VERSES
IN INDIVIDUAL WRITERS AND TEXTS

	10	11	12	10-11	11-12	11-13	19
<i>Syr</i>	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
<i>Pd</i>	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
<i>NS</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
<i>Hor</i>	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
<i>Bahu</i>	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
<i>Łuč</i>	—	—	1	—	—	1	—
<i>Tat</i>	—	—	—	—	1	—	—

Tables 16-17 refer to the group of 10 miscellaneous verses with alternating lines, and show their occurrence in individual writers and texts.

TABLE 16

THE INCIDENCE OF MISCELLANEOUS VERSES WITH ALTERNATING
LINES

6/5	syllables	1
7/5	"	1
7/6	"	2 ²⁷
8/6	"	3 ²⁸
8/7	"	1
9/7	"	1
10/8	"	1

TABLE 17

THE INCIDENCE OF MISCELLANEOUS VERSES WITH ALTERNATING
LINES IN INDIVIDUAL WRITERS AND TEXTS

	6/5	7/5	7/6	8/6	8/7	9/7	10/8
<i>Čač</i>	1	—	2	2	1	—	—
<i>PŁ</i>	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
<i>Hur</i>	—	1	—	—	—	1	1

Tables 18-19 refer to the group of 13 miscellaneous verses with mixed but not alternating lines, and show their occurrence in individual writers and texts.

27. The 7/6 pair of alternating lines is arguably a descendant of the classical 13-syllable line in syllabic poetry.

28. See the section on Leonine verse above.

TABLE 18
THE INCIDENCE OF MISCELLANEOUS VERSES WITH MIXED BUT NOT
ALTERNATING LINES

7 & 5	syllables	1
8 & 6	"	1
9 & 8	"	1
9 & 8 & 7	"	1
10 & 7	"	1
10 & 8 & 5	"	2
10 & 8 & 7	"	1
10/11 & 7/8	"	1
11 & 7	"	1
11-14 & 6-9 (7/8)	"	1
12 & 8	"	1
12/13 & 8	"	1

TABLE 19
THE INCIDENCE OF MISCELLANEOUS VERSES WITH MIXED LINES
IN INDIVIDUAL WRITERS AND TEXTS

	7 & 5	8 & 6	9 & 8	9 & 8 & 7	10 & 7	10 & 8 & 5	10 & 8 & 7	10/11 & 7/8	11 & 7	11-14 & 6-9(7/8)	12 & 8	12/13 & 8
<i>Čač</i>	1	—	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
<i>D-M</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>NS</i>	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Finally, there remain 11 poems which, although irregular in line-length, show a tendency towards a particular length in the majority of their lines. Barščeŭski's *Ach čym ža tvaja, dzievańka, haťoŭka zaniata?* (14, 14, 8, 8, 6, 14, 14, 6, 7, 5)²⁹ has a definite pattern which may be compared with 3 of Čačot's verses: *Oj haspadynia* and *Na što nam dym vyjedaje ocy* (10, 10, 8, 8, 5), and *U lesie takujeć cieciaruk* (9, 9, 8, 8, 5).³⁰ The other 10 are unpatterned. Tables 20-21 show the number of poems inclined to but not adhering rigidly to various line-lengths, and their occurrence in individual writers and texts.

TABLE 20

THE INCIDENCE OF MISCELLANEOUS VERSES INCLINED
TO CERTAIN LINE-LENGTHS

7	syllables	1
8	"	2
8-9	"	4
11	"	1
11/12 & 7/8	"	1
12-13	"	1

29. Hrynčyk describes the poem as 14-syllable syllabic verse. M. M. Hrynčyk, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

30. See Tables 18-19. Čačot is particularly inclined to patterning by variation in line-length. For example, 14 (50%) of his *Pieśni* make use of this technique.

TABLE 21

THE INCIDENCE OF MISCELLANEOUS VERSES INCLINED TO CERTAIN
LINE-LENGTHS IN INDIVIDUAL WRITERS AND TEXTS.³¹

	7	8	8-9	11	11/12 & 7/8	12-13
Čač	—	—	—	1	—	—
D-M	—	—	—	—	1	—
MH	—	—	1	—	—	—
NS	1	1	—	—	—	—
Btu	—	—	2	—	—	—
HDsaŠ	—	—	—	—	—	1
HSD	—	1	—	—	—	—
HP	—	—	1	—	—	—

The author of the present study has deliberately limited to a bare minimum conclusions drawn from the statistical material, tempting though it is to embark on the extensive and fascinating exercise of drawing patterns of development, particularly with reference to the irregular and intermediate forms which play so great a role in Byelorussian 19th-century poetry. Immense possibilities for further analysis remain, both on the basis of the material presented here and also from the investigation of the numerous aspects of the subject which still await scholarly attention. It is hoped the present study may serve as a starting-point for further research. Until this work is performed the history and development of Byelorussian versification will remain one of the least known aspects of Slavonic cultural history.

31. Tables 20-21 should be considered in conjunction with Tables 6, 7, 12-15.

Anomalous spelling in Byelorussian: the replacement of e by я in post-stress syllables

BY

P. J. MAYO

A distinctive feature of the Byelorussian literary language is *akańnie*, i.e. the pronunciation of unstressed [o], [e] (and [a]) as [a] in the following positions: word initial e.g. абыход [abyxót], in the immediate pretonic syllable e.g. дамы [damý], in a final open syllable e.g. во́ка [vóka]. In other unstressed positions — syllables preceding the stress other than the immediate pretonic syllable and post-stress syllables other than final open — reduction of the vowel takes place to [ɐ] e.g. гарады [ɣradý], го́радам [ɣórɐdɐm].

A similar situation may be observed where unstressed [o], [e] (and [a]) occur after soft consonants.¹ They are pronounced [a] in the immediate pretonic syllable e.g. лясы [l'asý] and in a final open syllable e.g. по́ле [pól'a]. Elsewhere there is vowel reduction to [i] e.g. веліза́рны [v'ilizárny], во́сень [vósiń]. The jotted vowel [je] occurring initially in a word in the immediate pretonic syllable is pronounced [ja] e.g. яро́ [ja'ó].¹

However, in Byelorussian as in many other languages, spelling is slow to reflect the realities of pronunciation. Despite the fact that the modern orthography, embodying proposals put forward by the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences, was agreed upon as recently as 1933,² the phonetic situation outlined above, while more accurately reflected than is the case with *akańnie* and vowel reduction in Russian, is nevertheless only imperfectly represented. According to the Decree of 28 August 1933 a was to be written for unstressed o, ə in all unstressed syllables (whether those in which *akańnie* takes place or those with vowel reduction), while я was to replace e (ë) in unstressed position *only* in the immediate pretonic syllable e.g. зямля́, while in other unstressed positions e was to remain unchanged e.g. веліза́рны (e occurs two syllables prior to the stress); выеха́ць, ду́маець (e in post-stress syllables).³

At first sight these limitations on the replacement of unstressed e (ë) by я would seem to be an accurate reflection of the reality of the situation in modern Byelorussian, since they are in practice supported by numerous examples e.g. спёшна — няспёшна, све́жы — нясве́жы but вялікі — невялікі, спакойны — неспакойны; ва́жкасць — бязва́жкасць but адка́знасць — безадка́знасць; е́хаць — выеха́ць; нясу́ — нясе́ш — нясе́ — нясе́м — нясу́ць but неся́це etc. Certainly this is the orthographical rule most frequently encountered in textbooks and grammars dealing with the modern Byelorussian literary language.⁴

Closer examination, however, reveals instances of anomalous spelling. These are to be found in certain inflexional endings of nouns and adjectives, and all involve the use of я for unstressed e (ë) in *post-stress* syllables.⁵

In nouns this phenomenon is most widespread in the genitive plural ending -яў, the unstressed ending for nouns with a soft final stem consonant. It is used for such nouns in all the declensions, but not for all such nouns in any given declension. Most commonly it occurs in nouns of the *o*-stem⁶ declension, where it is basic and whence it has spread to the other declensions, often as an alternative. Examples:

<i>o</i> -stem	nom. sing.	гэній сусэд пралетарый здарэнне узгор'е	gen. pl.	гэніяў сусэдняў пралетарыяў здарэнняў узгор'яў
<i>a</i> -stem	nom. sing.	песня яблыня зямяля	gen. pl.	песняў (also песень) яблыняў (also яблынь) зямяляў (also зямель)
<i>i</i> -stem	nom. sing.	сенажаць якасць верфь	gen. pl.	сенажацяў якасяў верфяў
(in this declension -яў is an alternative to -ей)				
consonant-stem	nom. sing.	імя	gen. pl.	імяў (also імён, імёнаў)

The explanation of the use of *я* for unstressed *е* (ë) in the genitive plural of nouns in contravention of the orthographical rule is clearly one of analogy. For *o*-stem nouns with a hard final stem consonant the endings of the genitive plural are -оў (stressed) and -аў (unstressed). Nouns with a soft final stem consonant and stress on the ending in the genitive plural have -ёў. In accordance with the orthographical rules of Byelorussian one would expect the equivalent unstressed ending to be written -еў,⁷ but instead we find -яў. The opposition in the hard variety of the declension between -оў (stressed) and -аў (unstressed) has provided the impetus towards a corresponding opposition in the soft variety between -ёў (stressed) and -яў (unstressed). At the same time the opposition between the two endings -оў (hard) and -ёў (soft) leads to a corresponding opposition between the two unstressed endings -аў (hard) and -яў (soft). To put it another way:

As -оў (hard stressed) is to -аў (hard unstressed)
so -ёў (soft stressed) is to -яў (soft unstressed)
and as -оў (hard stressed) is to -ёў (soft stressed)
so -аў (hard unstressed) is to -яў (soft unstressed).

It is clear that what we are dealing with here is an ending which has become morphologised, i.e. treated as a grammatical form independent of the phonetic development and orthographical rules applying to Byelorussian in general.

The same pattern is to be seen in the ending of the instrumental singular of *a*-stem nouns. Here the endings are:

Hard: stressed -ой, unstressed -ай
Soft: stressed -ей, unstressed -яй

with *я* again appearing for unstressed *ë* in a post-stress position. Examples:

Hard stressed:	nom. sing.	вада	instr. sing.	вадой
		пара		парой
Hard unstressed:	nom. sing.	брыгада	instr. sing.	брыгадай
		фабрыка		фабрыкай
Soft stressed:	nom. sing.	зямяля	instr. sing.	зямялей
		суддзя		суддзёй
Soft unstressed:	nom. sing.	песня	instr. sing.	песняй
		станцыя		станцыяй

In two other inflexional endings of the noun declensions where one might expect a comparable analogical development it does not in fact take place. The endings concerned are the instrumental singular of masculine and neuter nouns of the *o*-stem declension (and, by extension, of the consonant stem declension where it adapts its endings to the *o*-stem declension) and the nominative/accusative singular of neuter nouns of the same declension.

In the first of these instances it is difficult to understand why a comparable development to that of the genitive plural and of the instrumental singular of *o*-stem nouns does not take place, since one has exactly the same opposition between the vowels of the hard stressed (-ом) and hard unstressed (-ам) endings, and between the hard stressed (-ом) and soft stressed (-ём) endings, which lead to the use of *я* for *е* (ë) in the soft unstressed endings described above. The fact remains, however, that *я* does not replace *е* (ë) in this ending.⁸

In the second instance — the nominative/accusative singular of the *o*-stem declension — the fact that *я* does not replace unstressed *е* (ë) is, to some degree at least, more readily explained. It is a fact that in *no* inflexional ending (whether of noun, adjective, pronoun or verb) in Byelorussian is a *final e* replaced by *я* despite the existence of the same conditions of opposition between hard stressed and hard unstressed or between hard stressed and soft stressed endings as obtain in the situations dealt with above. As far as the nominative/accusative singular of neuter nouns of the *o*-stem declension is concerned this leaves us with the following set of endings:⁹

Hard stressed -о e.g. акно
unstressed -а e.g. возера
Soft stressed -ё e.g. набыцце
unstressed -е e.g. пытанне

In the adjective declension the inflexional endings with anomalous spelling are the following: neuter nominative/accusative singular (-яе), masculine and neuter genitive singular (-яа) and dative singular (-яму), feminine genitive (-яе/-яй), dative (-яй), instrumental (-яю/-яй) and prepositional (-яй) singular, all of adjectives with a soft final stem consonant.

As in the case of anomalous spelling in the inflexional endings of nouns these endings should be regarded as morphologised, although unlike the noun declension system the declension system of adjectives does not have a complete set of contrasts to help this process along,

since there are no adjectives with a soft final stem consonant and final stress in Byelorussian. The impetus therefore comes only from the unstressed endings of adjectives with a hard final stem consonant. Thus the adjective асённі has:

Neuter nom./acc. sing.	асённые	cf. e. g.	бёлае
Masc./neut. gen. sing.	асённыха		бёлага
Masc./neut. dat. sing.	асённыму		бёламу
Fem. gen. sing.	асённыха (-яй)		бёлае (-ай)
Fem. dat. sing.	асённой		бёлай
Fem. instr. sing.	асённяю (-яй)		бёлаю (-ай)
Fem. prep. sing.	асённяй		бёлай

In the masculine and neuter genitive and dative singular and the feminine genitive singular the use of these endings is reinforced by the fact that these cases of the third person pronoun (from which, of course, the majority of adjectival endings derive, not only in Byelorussian but also in the Slavonic languages generally) have я for unstressed e, albeit here in accordance with the orthographical rules since я is in the immediate pretonic syllable (яро, яму, яё).

In the neuter nominative/accusative singular and feminine genitive singular я replaces e only in the first syllable of the ending i.e. ee > яе not *яя. This is in line with the general principle applying to all inflexional endings that a final e remains unchanged (see above).¹⁰

One ordinal numeral — трэці, the only one in fact with a soft stem — follows the same pattern as adjectives with a soft stem, since ordinal numerals in general have the same inflexional endings as the adjective declension.

Unlike nouns and adjectives, verb endings do not exhibit anomalous spelling with я for e (ё) in unstressed endings. Thus, despite the contrast between, for example, бяраш and пішаш (2nd person singular, present tense) or бяром and пішам (1st person plural, present tense), there is no corresponding contrast between, for example, нясеш and чытаеш, нясем and чытаем.

The use of я for (ё) in post-stress syllables is therefore confined to certain noun and adjective endings. Since it is possible to define the categories in which this phenomenon occurs it would seem appropriate to amend the orthographical rule concerning the use of я for e (ё) in unstressed syllables on the following lines:

Я replaces e (ё) in unstressed position only in the immediate pretonic syllable, except in certain inflexional endings where it appears in post-stress position, viz.:

1) the genitive plural of non-finally stressed nouns with a soft final stem consonant (-яў);

2) the instrumental singular of non-finally stressed a-stem nouns with a soft final stem consonant (-яй);

3) the neuter nominative/accusative singular (-яе), masculine and neuter genitive (-яа) and dative (-яму) singular, and the feminine genitive (-яе/-яй), dative (-яй), instrumental (-яю/яй) and prepositional (-яй) singular of adjectives with a soft final stem consonant (all such adjectives having non-final stress).

NOTES

1. This feature is often referred to as *jakańnie*, although in fact it is simply a particular instance of *akańnie* — that occurring after a soft consonant or [j].
2. R. G. A. De Bray, *Guide to the Slavonic Languages*, revised edition, London, 1969, p. 131.
3. Exceptions to the writing of a for unstressed o, э were made in two specific groups of words: firstly 'international words denoting concepts of the revolutionary era' e.g. совет, коммунизм, большевик etc., and secondly, proper names and geographical names of foreign origin e.g. Чэрнышэўскі, Пшэўчка etc. As far as the writing of я for unstressed e in the immediate pretonic syllable was concerned the only exceptions were in this latter category e.g. Плёханаў, Ерóp'еўск. (N. I. Hurski, M. H. Bulachaў, M. C. Marčanka, *Bielaruskaja mova*, 2nd ed., I, Minsk, 1958, pp. 91-2.
4. However, a more recent (1957) edict of the Byelorussian Soviet of Ministers has now largely brought these words into line with the general pattern of the language and they are written with a for unstressed o, and with я for unstressed e in the immediate pretonic syllable, thus: совет, коммунизм, большевик, Чарнышэўскі, Бялінжкі (Hurski, Bulachaў, Marčanka, *op. cit.*, pp. 385-6).
5. The spelling of such words may in any case be considered to constitute a special category. As K. Krapiva says: '... loanwords enjoy extra-territorial rights. They are subject to the laws of our [i.e. Byelorussian] morphology, but do not recognise those of phonetics; therefore, when they enter the Byelorussian language they do not merge with it completely but follow their own individual course...' (*Zbor tvoraў*, 2, Minsk, 1956, p. 519). For this reason I am confining my observations to native Byelorussian words.
6. See, for example: Hurski, Bulachaў, Marčanka, *op. cit.*, p. 91; K. I. Šapialevič and A. K. Sieviarniova, *Bielaruskaja mova. Hramatyka, pravapis i raźvićcio movy*, 9th ed., Minsk, 1963, p. 9; A. K. Sieviarniova, S. S. Symanskaja, *Bielaruskaja mova. Pravapis. Raźvićcio movy*, 8th ed., Minsk, 1969, p. 66; M. F. Smarščok, N. L. Załudzienka, R. P. Kazimirava, *Bielaruskaja mova. Čytańnie. Pravapis. Raźvićcio movy*, 8th ed., Minsk 1969, p. 182; N. I. Seučyk, A. A. Amialkovič, *Bielaruskaja mova*, Minsk, 1970, p. 58; V. J. Budžko, S. S. Malaškievič, L. P. Padhajski, *Bielaruskaja mova*, 2nd ed., Minsk, 1972, p. 15; L. P. Padhajski, A. K. Sieviarniova, *Bielaruskaja mova*, 4th ed., Minsk, 1973, p. 23; J. M. Kamaroŭski, *Bielaruskij pravapis*, Minsk, 1965, pp. 65-6.
7. J. M. Kamaroŭski, a leading Byelorussian scholar, has written two books on the orthography of Byelorussian, in both of which he mentions these forms (*op. cit.*, pp. 94-5; *Bielaruskaja mova. Arfahrafija*, Minsk, 1972, pp. 71-2), but in a completely different section from that in which he deals with the general orthographical rules of Byelorussian. Furthermore, he does not relate these forms to the rule as exceptions, nor does he attempt to offer any explanation for their occurrence.
8. Some scholars prefer the terms: 1st declension (= a-stem), 2nd declension (= o-stem), 3rd declension (= i-stem) and heteroclitic (includes consonant-stem).
9. In Byelorussian, as in Russian, ё occurs only under stress.
10. Je. F. Karskij, *Belorusy*, 2, Moscow, 1956, p. 131, does give two examples (quoted from P. V. Sejn, 'Belorusskije pesni, sobr. P. V. Sejn', *Zapiski RGO po otdeleniju etnografii*, V, St. Petersburg, 1873) showing я in place of unstressed e (ё) in Byelorussian dialects: каменням, колёсьям. However, in the absence of any supporting data from the literary language it is highly unlikely that such forms could at any time have been considered acceptable forms in the literary language.
9. Again Karskij, *op. cit.*, p. 122, quotes the occasional dialect form showing я for unstressed e (ё), but for the reason advanced in note 8 above there would seem to be no justification for supposing them to have been acceptable literary forms.
10. Equally, therefore, this applies to the corresponding endings of adjectives with a hard final stem consonant, where final e remains in both stressed and unstressed endings e.g. маладоё, бёлае.

REVIEW ARTICLE

Towards a Phonetic Description of Byelorussian

BY

ROLAND SUSSEX

It is encouraging to note, over the last decade or so, the increasingly active role of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences in promoting and organizing synchronic and diachronic research into the structure of the Byelorussian language. The centre of this work has been the Academy's Institute of Linguistics, which now publishes, through 'Navuka i Technika', the journal *Bielaruskaja Linhivistyka* (1972-), as well as scholarly monographs. The latest of these, from the Laboratory of Experimental Phonetics in Minsk, is Padžužny & Čekman's *Huki bielaruskaj movy*,* which has the distinction of being, if not the first full-length study of the sounds of Byelorussian, at least the first extended investigation of Byelorussian phonetics from an experimental viewpoint.¹ It therefore adds an important new facet to our knowledge of Byelorussian phonetics, which has hitherto been mainly concerned with dialectology² and normative descriptions in the 'kul'tura reči' pattern of Soviet Russian phonetics.³

If the book's subject matter is original, in a sense, its approach is conservative and conventional. It would probably have been unwise for the authors to choose otherwise. In a preliminary investigation, one can only gain from unequivocal techniques and well-tried methods of classification. The book contains four main sections: an introductory chapter on general articulatory phonetics and the physiology of speech (pp. 5-22); an analysis of the consonant phonemes (33-219) and vowel phonemes (220-49) of Byelorussian; and a brief summary of the main results (250-60). Although the authors devote most space to Byelorussian phonetics, they include many comparisons with other Slavonic languages — a merit also found in Čekman's diachronic work on palatalization (1970). Most of their comparative data is from Ukrainian, Russian and Polish, as is

generically and geographically proper. In balance, this is a careful and coherent analysis of Byelorussian in the context of the more familiar phonetic patterns of other Slavonic languages.

The experimental method is characteristic of the work as a whole, both in its scope and in its application. Seventeen informants were used in a variety of tests, involving mainly X-ray photography, palatograms, linguagrams and odontograms. There are reproduced, largely in line diagrams, as illustrations of aspects of the sounds under discussion. The experimental background is strongly influenced by the solid, but now somewhat outdated, work of Koneczna & Zawadowski (1951 and 1956) and Skalożub (1963). The authors rely entirely on articulatory analysis, and make little mention of acoustic phonetics (p. 5), and no mention at all of perceptual phonetics; nor do they discuss the significance of all these areas in a total phonetic description. Easily visible articulatory movements are photographed — as with the posture of the lips in rounded vowels (pp. 266 ff.). Visually less accessible articulatory movements are investigated by X-ray photography, in this case pictures taken transversely through the cheek; and by palatography, whereby the mouth is first sprayed with an adhesive, finely-ground powder containing charcoal-dust, a sound is pronounced and the inside of the mouth is then photographed, with the help of a spatula-shaped mirror, to record the location and amount of powder removed from the roof of the mouth (palatogram) and teeth (odontogram) by the tongue, and where the powder has adhered to the tongue (linguagram). These methods aim at an accurate location of all articulatory contacts within the oral cavity, and — with the help of X-ray pictures — to describe the posture of those parts of the vocal mechanism not actually in contact. Glottal, pharyngeal, uvular and (to a lesser extent) velar sounds depend more on the X-ray data.

The authors concentrate almost exclusively on phonetic segments. This limitation is defensible, at least for their purposes, since it allows a straightforward classification which runs parallel to treatments of Byelorussian segmental phonology (e.g., Padžužny (1969), Čekman (1970)). A good example of the authors' method is their analysis of the nasals /n/ and /n./ (pp. 142-63). They first define the basic articulatory characteristics of these sounds, and then consider various problems of phonetic specification. With /n./, there are the questions of the variable width of the tongue-dental contact, and the average limits of this contact. Evidence of X-ray cine-photography is cited to establish the velarization and the relatively lenis quality of the articulation, and the sound is specified as an apical, dental-and-alveolar velarized nasal. /n/ is then compared to /n./, which emerges as a laminar prepalatal nasal, varying between speakers from dental-and-alveolar to palatal in extreme cases. The general evidence for /n/ consists of 16 palatograms, 8 linguagrams, and 13 X-ray line diagrams, covering the examples *man*, *na*, *maná*, *nógi*, *šnur* and *pěna*; there are examples of articulations from several informants. For /n./ there are 27 palatograms, 9 linguagrams and 10 X-ray line diagrams, covering *ban'*, *bánja*, *nja*, *njánja*, *manjá*, *bánju*,

* Padžužny, A. I., Čekman, V. M. *Huki bielaruskaj movy*. 'Navuka i Technika', Minsk, 1973. 263 pages.

1. For earlier studies, see Appel' (1880), Čekman (1970), Duravno (1929), Karskij (1885, 1908, 1927), Padžužny (1968, 1969), Padžužny & Čekman (1972).

2. For dialectology, see Biryła (1957), Čekman (1968a-b), *Dyjalektalahičny atlas, Narysy*..., Vajtovič (1968).

3. Biryła (1958), Jankouški (1961).

jačménju, pen', sjěnnja and zásaen', again with data from several informants, and with an additional X-ray comparisons of Byelorussian /n./ with Russian /n/, Ukrainian /n./ and Polish /n./ ('n'). The authors conclude with a comparison of the articulatory properties of nasals in Byelorussian, Russian, Ukrainian and Polish.

This methodical accumulation and classification of data is a solid achievement, and one which will form a sound basis for future research in the field of Byelorussian phonetics. In addition, the authors' findings correct some important misconceptions in previous Byelorussian phonetic studies. The first, and most significant, of these concerns the status of the phonemes /ts/, /dz/, /s/, and /n/. Traditionally, in so far as one can speak of a tradition, these sounds have been regarded as apico-dental. Padlušny & Čekman demonstrate conclusively that these are prepalatal laminar ('premediolingual') sounds — a result first reported in Padlušny & Čekman (1972). These consonants therefore differ from /ts/, /dz/, /s/ and /n/ not only in being unvelarized (Padlušny & Čekman show that all hard consonants in Byelorussian are velarized), but also in their place of articulation. This is not the case with the labials /p/, /b/, /f/, /v/, /m/ and the apical /l/, which have the homogeneous, but nonvelarized, palatalized counterparts in /p/, /b/, /f/, /v/, /m/ and /l/. On the other hand, /k/, /g/, /x/ and /r/ are analyzed as palatals (p. 253), a result which is phonetically doubtful; my observations, and the X-ray pictures (pp. 210-18) suggest that they are postpalatal, although Padlušny & Čekman are certainly correct in distinguishing them clearly from the velar /k/, /g/, /x/ and /r/. The sounds /š/, /ž/, /tš/ and /dž/ are always hard and velarized. This leaves us with a list of 33 consonant phonemes:

/p/	/p./	/b/	/b./	/v/	/v./	/m/	/m./
/t/	/d/	/s/	/z/	/n/	/r/	/l/	/l./
/ts/	/ts"/	/dz/	/s"/	/z"/	/n"/	/š/	/ž/
/tš/	/dž/	/j/	/g/	/g./	/k/	/k./	/x/
/x./							

where '"', indicates prepalatal articulation. The sounds /f/, /f./, /r/, /r./ and /dz/ are held to be only marginally part of the Byelorussian sound system, on the grounds that they occur mainly in borrowed words. /h/ and /h./ are properly regarded as dialectal variants.

The vowel system offers few surprises, and is treated rather briefly by Padlušny & Čekman. Their results show four vowel heights and five degrees of tongue advancement at the systematic phonetic level:

i	i	I	u	u
e				
	e		o	
a		a		

where the fronted versions of /e/ and /a/ are the variants which follow /j/, and thus follow the orthographic distinctions between 'e' and 'ə' and between 'a' and 'a'. The vowel height of /o/ is perhaps slightly unexpected, but is certainly borne out by the data (pp. 239-

41). It is more difficult to accept 'ə' as a schwa, as is clearly indicated on p. 263, and the data (pp. 233 ff.) suggest a raised and fronted schwa. Furthermore, this presentation of the vowels fails to reveal that /u/, and to a lesser degree /i/, are not always as high as their cardinal counterparts (cardinal 3, first series, is rather oddly given as 'E' on p. 25). Much more serious is the omission of vowels in unstressed syllables, an unexpected oversight in a book otherwise well supplied with data.

On the other hand, the authors' concern for the 'articulatory basis' of Byelorussian reveals their interest in wider issues. Although they say disappointingly little on the relevance of their results to general phonetics, they do have some suggestive conclusions on the relation of Byelorussian to the phonetic structure of Ukrainian, Russian and Polish. Byelorussian is characterized by generally weaker articulatory movements than in Russian, which in turn is weaker than Ukrainian. High tongue position is again a characteristic of Byelorussian, since it affects about 75% of all sounds; and central tongue position is also typical, if slightly less striking statistically; this is a feature also found, although to a lesser degree, in Russian. Russian and Byelorussian also share velarized hard consonants, whereas this is less common in Polish (with the notable exception of /l/) or Ukrainian, which is also typified by more energetic articulatory movements, and by a more forward position of articulation than is usual in Byelorussian. These data — and I have only given some of the general conclusions — are of course only as good as the experimental evidence supporting them (see below). But they do constitute an important step towards a better understanding of comparative Slavonic phonetics.

As these data suggest, the authors' most impressive contribution is to the study of the place of articulation in Byelorussian consonants, and to a lesser extent in the vowels. There are, nevertheless, a number of places in this book where the authors have not extracted the maximum information from their experimental material. This is partly due to their reliance on certain techniques without commenting on the practical and theoretical limitations of these methods; and partly to the way in which they interpret the data. The limitations of palatography are now well known and agreed on in the field of experimental phonetics.⁴ Palatograms are undeniably useful in identifying broad-scale place of articulation data. But the method is inherently unnatural. The articulation is made under artificial and generally decontextualized conditions, and the accuracy of the measurements obtained is subject to a number of variables which are hard to control. Speakers differ in the way in which they pronounce sounds, even under natural and identical conditions: factors like degree of stricture, the amount of contact, and the energy of articulation can, and do, vary widely. And when sounds are pronounced under abnormal conditions, as with shouting, whispering, or with changes of speed, the differences are even more marked. These

4. Abercrombie (1965), Fujimura *et al.* (1973).

variations can, in principle, be averaged out to give a median place and area of articulation. But this process becomes much more difficult when we compare the articulations of several speakers, with different sizes and shapes of palate and tongue — factors which vary widely with age, sex, and physical development. Padlužny & Čekman fail us here, since they give no method of reliable comparison, other than an impressionistic contrast of shaded areas where the powder has been affected. Nor do they tell us enough about the conditions under which the tests were made, the instructions given to the informants, the physical characteristics and social backgrounds of the speakers, the speed of the spoken segments tested, and other aspects of the experimental situation. Nor do they offer any method of quantifying the results, which is the only practicable way of making reasonable comparisons between speakers. There is a method for doing this, whereby lines are drawn across the palatogram connecting the gaps between the teeth, the resulting squares are numbered, and the size and location of shaded or unshaded areas can then be stated with at least some comparability. A similar procedure could, again in principle, be applied to odontograms, although here, again, we come across the problem of widely differing dental structure among informants. It is more difficult to apply quantitative measurements to linguagrams, since (a) the powder traces on the tongue tend to be blurred at the edges, (b) the tongue varies considerably in size, shape and mobility among speakers, and (c) the posture it adopts in the mouth for the formation of an individual segment can vary within fairly broad limits, often depending on the phonetic context. All of these facts reduce the reliability of Padlužny & Čekman's results. But it still leaves us with a valuable, if less precise, notion of the place and extent of the articulation of Byelorussian phonetic segments.

There is, however, a more general shortcoming in *Huki bielaruskaj movy*, and one which is important for future work on Byelorussian phonetics. It is always presumptuous, in a sense, to accuse authors of omissions. And Padlužny & Čekman openly intend their study to be 'a first step towards the construction of a scientific descriptive phonetics' of Byelorussian (p. 3). But it is limiting, and possibly misleading, to define sounds purely as segments. However valuable for the purposes of preliminary classification, this method obscures the value — and limitations — of segmental analysis by ignoring the relation between segmental and non-segmental phonetics, and by diverting attention from factors like transition-phenomena and the phonetic context. The field of articulatory phonetics is bounded by number of other areas of phonetic investigation, more or less intimately connected with articulatory studies. Some of these areas, including many of those loosely termed 'suprasegmental', might excusably be omitted from a basically articulatory investigation: topics like intonation, pitch and length. On the other hand, the place and manner of articulation can be critically affected by factors like tessitura, speed of utterance, volume, energy or articulation, and stress — there is, for example, no treatment of consonants in unstressed syllables. It

is the absence of these aspects of sound structure which reduce the value of Padlužny & Čekman's findings.

An obvious example concerns the reaction between place and manner of articulation. Energetically released plosives are similar to affricates in their release mechanism; the opposite occurs with lenis articulations — a factor mentioned in the comparison of Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Russian and Polish consonants, but not in connexion with voiced/voiceless oppositions in Byelorussian. Padlužny & Čekman, indeed, have a very 'all-or-none' view of articulatory features. This is particularly clear in their analysis of manner of articulation, with its very uncritical acceptance of clear boundaries between manner classes like plosive and fricative. It would be most interesting to have more data on varying degrees of energy and stricture in consonant clusters, and on differing degrees of voicing and devoicing, to name two obvious omissions. It would be even more helpful to have acoustic evidence in these and other areas (cf. Isačenko (1968)). And Padlužny & Čekman have an unnecessarily restricted concept of phonetic environment. They do not tell us enough about labialization of consonants in the environment of labialized vowels: compare Russian [kʷot] with Czech and Slovak [kot]. Nor do they deal satisfactorily with the nasalization of vowels in the environment of nasal consonants, or with the effect of surrounding palatalized consonants on vowel articulations, as in Russian ['p'atka] 'heel' but [p'æt,] 'five'. In addition to these specific aspects of analysis, it is only just to observe that there are many issues in a broader articulatory framework which are not studied, and often not mentioned, here: glottal processes, subglottal pressure, air-flow and air-pressure, to mention only those directly relevant to Byelorussian. And there are many problems in general phonetics which bear on the issues discussed here, especially acoustic methods.

Nevertheless, *Huki bielaruskaj movy* remains a sound beginning for an articulatory phonetics of Byelorussian. Its data on palatals, palatalization and velarization represent concrete achievements. It also allows us to look a little more clearly towards the more remote goal of a comparative phonetic typology of the Slavonic languages. Padlužny & Čekman do attempt to place their findings in the context of other Slavonic languages, although only in an episodic and informal manner. They can be criticized for leaving a great deal untouched; and it is certainly true that their experimental techniques are unlikely to take us much further — apart from dialect and idiolect studies — unless new X-ray techniques for investigating the larynx are discovered. Nor is it likely that their results will allow really precise comparisons in the field of Slavonic phonetics, especially in the absence of quantifying techniques for data analysis. But this is still a valuable work, full of data and keen observation. Future students of experimental Byelorussian — and Slavonic — phonetics will appreciate such carefully-laid foundations.

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Auberon Herbert

(1922-1974)

Auberon Mark Henry Yvo Molyneux Herbert, founder and Chairman of the Anglo-Byelorussian Society, died peacefully at his home in Pixton Park, Dulverton, Somerset on 21 July 1974, aged 52 years.

He was the only son of Lieutenant Colonel the Hon. Aubrey Herbert, second son of the fourth Earl of Caernarvon, and former Member of Parliament for Yeovil; his mother the Hon. Mrs. Aubrey Herbert was the daughter of an Irish peer, Lord de Vesci. Politician, wit, patron of the arts and protector of immigrant organisations, Auberon by his death has left a big gap in the lives of many people. Of him a former Minister and member of the Society wrote: 'Auberon Herbert was a true friend to more people than most men's acquaintance . . . He was, in his way a truly great man.'¹



He was educated at Ampleforth College and Oxford, where the Second World War interrupted his studies. Rejected by the British Army on health grounds, he enlisted voluntarily in the Polish forces as a private, later being commissioned as a second lieutenant, and was awarded several decorations for gallantry in the field.

From his father, a leading British expert on the Near East, and from his experience in the forces, he acquired a lasting interest in the affairs of the less privileged nations of Eastern Europe, — particularly the Albanians, the Poles, the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians. After the war, he became concerned with the relief of refugees in Great Britain, and in 1954, together with a few friends, he founded the Anglo-Byelorussian Society. For twenty years, first as vice-chairman, and later as chairman, he was the *spiritus movens* of the Society, using his influence and enlisting his friends to promote its growth and welfare. He regularly contributed a Chairman's report to the *Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, took the chair at the Society's

annual lecture course, and organised a number of receptions for its members and their guests. He was always ready with a few words appropriate to every occasion, and made a point of using the Byelorussian language whenever the opportunity arose.

He became a patron of the Byelorussian School for boys in Finchley, who were, with all the staff, not infrequent guests at Pixton Park during summer vacations. An honorary member of the Association of Byelorussians in Great Britain, he visited, often on his own initiative, their centres in London, Bradford and Manchester, and greatly enjoyed presiding at their meetings. Many individual Byelorussians have cause to remember with gratitude the kindly assistance and hospitality he was able to afford them.

It was no secret to his friends that Auberon Herbert had particularly warm feelings towards the Byelorussian community, whom he liked to describe as 'the most English of all the East Europeans'. Towards the end of his life, disappointed with the changes in the Latin Mass, he requested Bishop Česlaŭ Sipovič to accept him as his parishioner, and he was frequently to be seen in Finchley, attending the Eastern-rite Liturgy in the beautiful, icon-studded chapel of the Byelorussians. At the request of his family, his funeral and requiem were conducted by the Apostolic Visitor of Byelorussians, assisted by Fr. Alexander Nadson; the Honorary Secretary of the Society acted as precentor at the graveside.

A Byelorussian friend of many years' standing wrote: 'Auberon Herbert helped the Byelorussians to enter into the British *milieu*, and introduced them to a number of personalities in cultural and political circles. At the same time, he aroused the interest of his British friends in the Byelorussian community, and introduced them to their land and culture.'²

As a distinguished pioneer in the field of Anglo-Byelorussian relations and as a friend, his name will be remembered with affection and respect by the members of this Society and by all who knew him.

We join one of his oldest friends in reflecting:

We shall not see his like again.³

¹ A friend (Rt. Hon. Maurice Macmillan, P.C., M.P.) 'Obituary', *Times*, 26 July 1974, London, p. 17.

² 'Śmierć i pochówiny Aubersona Herberta', *Bożym Śtacham*, 141, pp. 15-17, London 1974.

³ Sir Bernard Waley-Cohen, 'His memory will dwell with us', *West Somerset Free Press*, 2 August 1974, p. 2.

The Chairman's Annual Report for the year 1973-1974

This General Meeting marks the completion of the twentieth year of the Society's existence. As our late Chairman, Auberon Herbert said last year, the main body of this Current report would consist of a review of the Society's activities since its foundation in 1954. The recital of the Society's achievements during the past year must therefore of necessity be summary.

During the past session the state of the Society's budget has been satisfactory, thanks to a further generous grant from the Byelorussian Charitable Trust, which accounts for £1,013 of our total income of £1,371. I am sure it is your wish that I convey to the Trustees, and to our friends in the Association of Byelorussians in Great Britain our grateful thanks for their continuing assistance.

The customary Lecture Course, the eighth in the present series, was held once again at the Society of Antiquaries and the following papers were read:—

6 November: 'The origins of contemporary Byelorussian graphic art' (illustrated with slides), Guy Picarda; 4 December: 'The language of the Kucieina *Novy Zavet* (1652)', Dr. H. Leeming (School of Slavonic and East European Studies); 12 February: 'Byelorussian prayer-books for laymen in the 16th and 17th centuries', Revd Alexander Nadson (Francis Skaryna Byelorussian Library); 12 March: 'Transformational grammar and Byelorussian linguistics', Dr Roland Sussex (University of Reading); 14 May: 'The poet Aleś Harun (1887-1920)', James Dingley (University of Reading); 11 June: 'The Development of Urbanisation in Byelorussia', Dr Richard A. French (University College, School of Slavonic and East European Studies).

The Council met on 17 July 1974 to deal with the ordinary business activities of the Society. I have the sad duty to inform you that the Chairman Mr Auberon Herbert, who presided at that meeting, died at Pixton Park, Dulverton on 21 July of this year. In accordance with his wishes, Bishop Sipovič and Father Nadson conducted the Requiem and burial service on 26 July. The Hon. Secretary of this Society, the Chairman of the Association of Byelorussians in Great Britain and Mrs Michaluk were also present. Both organisations sent wreaths. He will be greatly missed by us all, and an appreciation of his life and work will be published in the coming issue of the *Journal of Byelorussian Studies*. The present flourishing state of the Society is due very largely to all his efforts on our behalf in the past. The Society will always remember him with affection.

JOHN JOLLIFFE
Chairman

Reviews

Hrynčyk, M. M. *Šlachi bielaruskaha vieršaskładahnia*. BDU, Minsk, 1973. 264 pages. Index.

The revival of interest in versification which has been so marked a feature of Slavonic studies within the Soviet Union for well over a decade has hitherto barely touched Byelorussia. Only one slim monograph by Ralko (*Bielaruskij vierš*, Minsk, 1969: see *JBS*, II, 2, p. 241) has appeared in recent years, with the result that, inevitably, much of the present work covers *terra incognita*. It is curious, in fact, that Hrynčyk makes so little reference to the earlier book, only criticising Ralko (pp. 50 and 56) for overemphasising the part played by foreign, notably Polish, influences in the formation of Byelorussian systems of versification. Hopes are raised in the early pages of *Šlachi bielaruskaha vieršaskładahnia* by references to Lofman and even Richards, but a greater overall influence appears to have been Tomaševskij with his rejection of purely visual approaches to the study of poetry. Unfortunately, however, the 'licence' implied in Tomaševskij's pronouncements often leads Hrynčyk to provide rather 'subjective' stress patterns and metrical schemes which are in turn used as the basis for his arguments on the characteristics and development of the various types of versification. Another drawback is the fatuous tendency to ally certain types of versification with what is 'progressive' and 'democratic'. Fortunately, however, such chaff can be easily winnowed from the grain, and on balance, despite numerous inaccuracies of detail, some of which are outlined in the present notice, Hrynčyk's pioneering study contains much that is of interest and value.

The period covered is from the beginnings of Byelorussian versification, which the author somewhat surprisingly detects in the 'rhythmic' prose of Cyril of Turau, to the formation of the Soviet state in 1917. Over this time Byelorussian verse underwent many transmutations, from primitive poems whose only distinguishing feature was terminal rhyme,

through syllabic and syllabo-tonic to tonic or intonational (*intanacyjny*) systems, reaching its still unsurpassed apogee in Maksim Bahdanovič's *vierš bielaruskaha składu*. The best sections of the book are those dealing with the mediaeval period, especially Skaryna and Połacki, and with the poets of the beginning of the present century, notably Bahdanovič on whom the author has already published a separate study (*Maksim Bahdanovič i narodnaja paezija*, Minsk, 1963).

The history of Byelorussian versification proper, like so much in Byelorussian culture, begins with Skaryna, and Hrynčyk balances the twin influences of Czech and Polish literary versification with the traditions of rhetoric and the ever-present 'inertia' of folk poetry in the formation of Byelorussian mediaeval verse. It is interesting to learn that the much vaunted *Polska kvitniet łaciznoju* by Paškievič was rather an anachronism with its 8-syllable syllabic lines at the beginning of the 17th century. Rymša and, particularly, Połacki did much to broaden and modernise resources, and their achievement is assessed in some detail, with Połacki's introduction of different types of syllabic lines (in the 16th century 13-syllabic lines had been the 'norm'), his expansion of rhyme and his influence on other poets being given due or, in the last case, even excessive prominence. In many ways the section on Połacki is more satisfactory than that by M. I. Praškovič in the first volume of *Historyja bielaruskaj dakastryčnickaj literatury* (Minsk, 1968: see *JBS*, II, 1, pp. 110-12), for, unlike Praškovič, Hrynčyk distinguishes between Połacki's verses in Byelorussian and those written in other languages. It may, however, be that Połacki's influence on Byelorussian (as opposed to Russian) poetry is exaggerated, for the author suggests that such 19th-century writers as Čačot, Barščuški, Rypinski, Dunin-Marcinkievič and even, rather amazingly, Bahuševič

based their verse on systems developed by the 17th-century poet, although he concedes that there was no direct literary link. In general the author, like writers in several other fields (philology, for example) is inclined to lump 19th-century writers together and indulge in generalisations. Indeed, only the eighteenth century is worse served by students of Byelorussian culture.

The author, dealing with a subject of notorious complexity, although he himself recognises the difficulty of applying conventional descriptive terminology to any poetry such as Byelorussian which is related to folk rather than purely cultivated sources (p. 7), is often inclined to look too hard for patterns and general tendencies (*zakanamieršaŭci*), which in turn leads to some curiously inaccurate metrical schemes (pp. 65, 80, 81, 82-3, 84, 92, 132, 145, 151 and 157) and misinterpretation of apparently straightforward evidence (pp. 84, 90 etc.). Whilst before the 19th century the establishment of syllabic verse rather than primitive rhyming couplets is seen as the 'aim', in the 19th century poets (Dunin-Marcinkievič, for example, p. 107) are 'praised' for their 'deformations' of the syllabic system, and syllabo-tonic elements are seen as 'progressive'; later in the century, however, tonic elements are emphasised in what on the face of it appear to be syllabo-tonic verses (Ciotka's *Leta* and *Vošieŭ*, for example, p. 151); later still Hrynčyk describes Ciotka's turn to free verse (*svobodny vierš*) as a positive step, apparently forgetting how common such verse was in much of the unorganised anonymous 19th-century poetry, and attempting to give it a spurious literary respectability with references to (correctly) Mickiewicz's *Dziady* and Słowacki's *Kordian*, and (disastrously) Puškin's *Boris Godunov* (p. 175) which is in rather strict blank iambic pentameters interspersed with passages of prose, in imitation of Shakespeare. Later Ciotka is described as 'beginning to develop the principles of syllabo-tonic poetry' (p. 181), although syllabo-tonic metres had been used by, *inter al.*, Bahuševič, Hrynčyk, Tapčeuški, Lučyna and Abuchovič, to say nothing of *Enieida navyvarat* and *Taras na Parnasie*, before her. A mere five pages later, however,

syllabo-tonic systems are described as 'traditional'. Much of the discussion of this type of verse is vitiated by the author's unwillingness, or inability, to see it in a wider context than that of simply Russian, Ukrainian and Polish, which in any case should not be packaged together. Perhaps the key to this rather confusing approach comes at the end of the book when it is revealed that syllabo-tonic verse corresponds to the 'rhythmic beating of the human heart' (p. 256) and that syllabo-tonic and 'limited' tonic verse are ideologically acceptable types of versification as opposed to the decadence and 'pseudo-innovatory experiments of some of the contemporary European avant-garde' (p. 258).

The book is not in fact as muddled as focus on this particular aspect of Hrynčyk's analysis might suggest, but terminology is a problem, partly recognised by the author, throughout. At times a Byelorussian word is felt to need supplementation for greater precision (*vymoŭnaš* by Russian *vyrzitel'nost'*, for example, p. 26, or *pieranosy-enžabemany* (*sic*), p. 44; words are used unconventionally or incorrectly like *charyjamb* ('choriambus', p. 179) for any mixed binary metre rather than just for an iambic line beginning with a trochaic foot, or *svobodny vierš* (see above); numerous words occur which are not recorded in any existing dictionary of Byelorussian, *paraksy-taničny* ('paroxytone', p. 67), for example, whilst in other cases the author vacillates between terms like *intanacyjny* and *taničny* which are insufficiently distinguished in his usage.

It is a pity that a book offering so much in factual information and scholarly interpretation should also contain numerous inaccuracies, some of considerable significance. The descriptions of two of Čačot's poems (the second stanza of *U lesie takuje cieciaruk*, pp. 82-3, and the second stanza of *Pokul sonce ŭzydže*, p. 84) bear little relation to the metrical scheme given. It is very careless not to notice that Dunin-Marcinkievič's play *Sialanka* is a macaronic work with only a few of the characters speaking Byelorussian rather than Polish; as is made clear in the notes to the edition Hrynčyk uses (V. I. Dunin-Marcinkievič, *Zbor tvoraŭ*, Minsk,

1958, p. 421) the majority of the work (i.e. all the Polish parts) was translated into Byelorussian by Janka Kupala. The result, of course, is that much of Hrynčyk's discussion on pp. 105-6 is entirely meaningless. Apart from this major lapse, the treatment of Dunin-Marcinkievič is generally satisfactory, and the main features of his syllabism and the tendency to tonic elements in some works are brought out clearly, although pp. 103-4 contain one very inept illustration of the latter phenomenon, with verses in mixed metres described as though they were homogeneous. Throughout the 19th century Hrynčyk treats tonic elements as manifestations of folk influence, but he is surely wrong in applying this to *Enieida navyvarat* and *Taras na Parnasie* with their firmly maintained syllabo-tonic rhythms, particularly in the light of the earlier work's literary provenance. In Hrynčyk's view Bahuševič took up where Dunin-Marcinkievič left off (p. 125), although he was inclined towards ternary metres (p. 136); the tonic (accentual) elements in his poetry, so stressed by Ralko, are barely mentioned. It may well be that Bahuševič was unimaginative in his approach to versification (p. 124), but Hrynčyk's exposition leaves a good deal to be desired, particularly on the question of Bahuševič's stanza forms. It would be helpful, for example, to make clear that only just over a quarter of his poems have any kind of stanza (the percentage for 19th-century Byelorussian poetry as a whole is only 44%), and it is misleading to speak of one rhyme pattern where there are in fact several in a poem: *Durny mužyk, jak varona* has eight stanzas of which only the first has the pattern *aabcbrr* (incidentally, it is not clear why Hrynčyk gives the refrain as 'b', since 'b' does not rhyme with 'r'); for the rest, ii, iii, viii have *aabcbrr*, and iv, v, vi, vii have *aabcbrr* (p. 140). On metre, the 10-syllable *Chmarki* has considerably more than two 'strong' stresses per line (p. 134) and the *zakanamtiernašč* that Bahuševič felt freest in forms closest to folk poetry, notably the 'so-called short syllabic forms' — of 9 and even 10 syllables, and that the latter occupy the major (*panujučy*) place in *Smyk bielaruski* (p. 138) is simply wrong, since less than a third of the

lines in *Smyk* are of this type; it is likewise not clear why lines of 6-8 syllables are not included in Hrynčyk's category of 'short syllabic forms'.

Bahuševič's contemporaries receive interesting treatment, although in two cases (pp. 142-3 and p. 147) the author seems to be forcing syllabotonic metres on to basically irregular material. The temptation to exaggerate cultural influence is not always resisted, and Hrynčyk speaks of the significance of the translations from Russian by Łučyna, Hurynovič and Abuchovič (p. 141), although all five of Łučyna's existing translations are in fact from Polish (he did, however, write in Russian as well as Polish and Byelorussian), whilst Hurynovič's nine known translations four are from Russian, but three also from Polish; Abuchovič (most of whose works have been lost) is known to have translated not only from Pushkin, Lermontov and Krylov, but also from Mickiewicz and Kondratowicz (as well as Goethe and Dante). Ciotka is seen as a follower of Bahuševič in both ideas and form. Apart from the cases already mentioned, Hrynčyk gives a number of what appear to be wrong analyses. Lack of space precludes mention of all but the most glaring: *Niebyvatyja časy* does not 'apart from the 6th and 7th lines preserve very strictly the dactylic structure of every line' (p. 158) — indeed of the eight lines only the 4th and, perhaps, the 8th could reasonably be described as dactylic; if there is a pattern at all it is roughly amphibrachic. Even more extraordinary is the reference to *Pad štandaram*, whose lines are of 5-7 syllables, as consisting basically of anapaestic trimeters (p. 163): the supporting reference to Kvjatkovskij's *Poetičeskij slovar* merely emphasises the inappropriateness of the description as the example given by Kvjatkovskij is of 9- and 10-syllable lines. Nor is there any need to add together two 6-syllable lines to make one 12-syllable one to obviate the necessity of explaining non-rhyming first and third lines in a quatrain of Ciotka (pp. 158-9): the rhyming scheme *abcb* occurs in no less than 31% of Čačot's Byelorussian verses and also in the anonymous *Nočču ŭ siale*. The treatment of Ciotka's poem is even more surpris-

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ing in the light of the author's later statement that the *abcb* rhyme scheme was 'one of the most widely used in Byelorussian poetry of the beginning of the 20th century' (p. 247).

In the book's later stages Kupala, Kolas and Bahdanovič figure repeatedly as a kind of Holy Trinity, which makes somewhat wearisome reading, as does the excessive use of superlatives and words like 'colossal' to describe various features of Slav cultural achievements. Kupala's use of 8/6 Leonine (*kolomyjka*) verse is attributed to folk influence (pp. 192-3 and p. 208) as is Kolas's (p. 223) and Łučyna's in *Viasnoj paroj* (p. 143), but the latter's *Pahudka*, also Leonine, is given as an example of one of the only two (in Hrynčyk's view) syllabic poems in this poet's *opus* (p. 143); moreover, Leonine elements in the poetry of Barščeuški are seen as 'linked with the traditions of Polish syllabism' (p. 78). This apparent confusion may be explained by the long and varied career of Leonine verse in Western poetry. Less defensible is Hrynčyk's assertion that Kupala's use of the amphibrach, and in particular amphibrachic tetrameters, in his early narrative poems was partly the result of his 'orientation on anonymous verse *hutarki* and stories' (p. 195): of the nine anonymous narrative poems or *hutarki* in the latest anthology, *Bielaruskaja literatura XIX stahodždzia* (Minsk, 1971), only one (*Hutarka Danily sa Sciapanam*) is in lines long for amphibrachic tetrameters, and even that is relatively regular 12-syllable syllabic; of the rest, two are in

iambic tetrameters, two in trochaic tetrameters, and the remainder in lines of mixed numbers of syllables and no metre.

After all the confusion and uncertainties earlier in the book Bahdanovič comes as a breath of fresh air with his conscious concern to raise Byelorussian versification to a truly European level. Even now his *vierš bielaruskaha skladu* remains unsurpassed, and his technical and lyrical achievements set a standard for his contemporaries and followers. It is surprising to find Hrynčyk challenging the statement Bahdanovič made in 1915 that there was no characteristically Byelorussian verse form (p. 202). Bahdanovič's pronouncement, like Puškin's famous negative assessment of Russian literature nearly a century earlier, was made by the only man truly competent to comment at the time. Kupala's tonic verse is a poor candidate for this role if one looks at Bahuševič, Ciotka, Sevcenko, or even Fet, Polonskij and Blok, all of whom used tonic metres in an organised way before Kupala.

If the present review has stressed the controversial and negative aspects of *Šlachi bielaruskaha vieršaskladanija* it is partly because there is also much of value in the book. It must be remembered that this is a pioneering study, doing what no-one has felt able to attempt before. As such it is an important achievement and will be immensely useful to all who are prepared to approach it with a modicum of circumspection.

Arnold B. McMillin

Hurski, M. I. *Paraŭnalnaja hramatyka ruskaj i bielaruskaj moŭ. Fanetyka i marfalohija*. Vyd. 2-e, vypraŭlenaje. 'Vyšėsjaja škola', Minsk, 1972. 264 pages.

One's immediate reaction to this scholarly work is that its title does it less than justice. Not only does it contain a mine of information, copiously illustrated, about the relationship between the phonetics and morphology of the Russian and Byelorussian literary languages (and, to a lesser extent, dialects), it also devotes the same attention to their relationship with Ukrainian, so that it really amounts to a comparative grammar of all three East Slavonic

languages. It the title represents modesty on the part of the author then such modesty is unnecessary, but unfortunately also reflected in the smallness of the edition — only 2,000 copies, though this is possibly due to the fact that it is a revised edition of a previously published work.

The Introduction (pp. 3-13) contains a brief survey of the Indo-European language family, the comparative-historical method in linguistics, Indo-

European, Common Slavonic, the break-up of Common Slavonic and formation of Common East Slavonic (Old Russian) and the formation of the individual East Slavonic nations and their languages — all in the space of some ten pages! This is arguably the weak spot of the book, since in attempting to cover so much ground so briefly it succeeds only in giving a very superficial impression, of little value for specialist and general reader alike, which makes the all too familiar omission of a bibliography of any kind doubly irritating. One suspects that the introduction was written not so much for the benefit of the reader as to conform to some traditional format.

By contrast the main body of the work is characterised by an exceptional wealth of detail. The section on phonetics (pp. 14-75), which includes also a comparison of the stress systems and orthographies of the East Slavonic languages, gives an excellent and comprehensive description both of the historical phonetics of Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian and of the modern sounds systems of these languages. Rather more attention is given to historical phonetics — the development of the characteristic phonetic features of Common Slavonic is traced through Old Russian into modern Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian and appropriate comparison is made with development in the West and South Slavonic languages. In particular the exposition of the *e* to *o* change (pp. 33-7) and of consonant and vowel alternations, in both their historical and modern contexts (pp. 51-9), is both detailed and clear, but *akańnie* and *jakańnie* are dealt with rather more summarily than one would wish in a work of this nature, with no reference to the disagreement which exists among scholars of Byelorussian as to which type of (non-dissimilative) *akańnie* constitutes the norm for literary Byelorussian. Ja. M. Kamaroŭski, for instance (see his *Bielaŭski pravapis*, Minsk, 1965, pp. 60-1 and *Bielaŭskaja mova. Arfahrafija*, Minsk, 1972, pp. 27-8), favours the same type which is characteristic of the Russian literary language i.e. except in the immediate pretonic syllable or in word initial position there is a reduction in vowel quantity and a change

in quality to [ɨ], e.g. Russ. [gɔlavá, mɔladóɨ, arɛ́x]. Byelo. [ɣlavá, mɔladý, arɛ́x]. Hurski, however, is firmly of the view (p. 38) that the norm for literary Byelorussian is strong *akańnie* i.e. no vowel reduction or change in vowel quality (from [a]) regardless of position in relation to the stress, e.g. [ɣalavá, maladý, arɛ́x]. This is in fact the view taken by the leading scholar of Byelorussian pronunciation F. Jankouŭski (*Bielaŭskaje litaraturnaje vymaŭleńnie*, Minsk, 1970, pp. 27-30 and *Rodnaje slova*, Minsk, 1972, pp. 55-8).

Not surprisingly in view of the mass of detail the author is occasionally guilty of minor errors and omissions. In describing the various origins of the vowels of the modern East Slavonic languages he makes no mention of the fact that *i* may originate from the I. E. diphthongs *oi*, *ai*; the prothetic *ɨ* of Byelorussian is said (p. 44) to occur before initial *y* 'usually', when in fact it is possible to define the situation more exactly — *ɨ* occurs before initial *y* except if the word is foreign (ypнa), if *y* is a prefix (ypapa) or if it derives from *ɨ* (yуuk); it is not clear why the spellings *дам* — *там*, *злы* — *слых* should be regarded as reflecting morphological rather than phonetic principles of orthography. On a more general point the use of characters from the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets and of IPA symbols is not always consistent and makes it difficult at times to distinguish phonetic and phonemic transcriptions from orthographical forms.

The Morphology (pp. 76-259) is concerned predominantly with the grammatical categories of noun, adjective, numeral, pronoun and verb; adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, particles and interjections are dealt with in a fairly cursory manner. The approach taken in this section of the book differs from that taken in the Phonetics in that, whereas in the latter the author begins with Common Slavonic and traces developments through to the modern languages, in the Morphology he works primarily from the modern forms and shows how they are derived from Old Russian and/or Common Slavonic.

In dealing with the noun (pp. 77-131) the author discusses the categories of gender, number and case

and of animate and inanimate nouns both in modern terms and in relation to Common Slavonic and Indo-European, and in a detailed survey of the classification of nouns shows the shift from the Indo-European classification on the basis of stems which cut right across any distinctions of gender, to a classification in terms of the modern East Slavonic languages which is based predominantly, though not exclusively, on gender. Each of the three declensions of modern Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian (nouns of the *имя* type are not regarded as a fourth declension, but grouped together with nouns like *путь* (пуць, путь) and Byelo. *цяля*, Ukr. *теля* etc. as heteroclitic) is then examined in detail, case by case, with comparisons and contrasts being made both synchronically and diachronically. This is followed by an analysis of suffixal word-formation in nouns.

The carefully assembled and well-presented information shows only one or two errors and inconsistencies. In discussing the question of animate and inanimate nouns Hurski oversimplifies the situation by stating that in the singular the animate category is in use for masculine nouns (p. 91) without specifying that this applies only to masculine nouns of the second declension and not to those (admittedly small in number, but among the most frequently used) which belong to the first declension e.g. Russ. *дядя*, *мужчина*; in subdividing the declensions according to their final stem consonant, on the basis that it is this which influences the form of the endings, he distinguishes in Byelorussian between hard, soft, formerly soft and velar stems but in Russian has only hard and soft varieties (p. 93), ignoring the fact that stems ending in *k*, *g*, *z*, should at the very least be described as of "mixed" declension, since they share certain endings with hard stems, other with soft; and under heteroclitic nouns he includes among the *имя* type for Byelorussian eight nouns (*імя, племя, стрэмя, полымя, бярэмя, цэмя, вьмя, семя*) whereas most modern grammars and textbooks of Byelorussian allow this type of declension only for the first three, the other having been absorbed into second declension (see for example the entries for *бярэмя, вьмя* and

полымя in M. P. Loban and M. R. Sudnik, *Arfahrafieny Stounik*, Minsk, 1971, pp. 88, 96, 205).

The section on adjectives (pp. 131-79) is rather inflated in relation to the other section of the Morphology by a considerable excursion into the area of syntax, illustrated by numerous examples from the literatures of the East Slavonic languages, particularly where the author is dealing with degrees of comparison (pp. 135-48) and possessive adjectives (pp. 149-53). It is difficult to see any justification for this in the context of the work as a whole, since no such attention is paid to the syntactical relationship of other parts of speech. Furthermore, in devoting so much attention to the syntactical functions of comparative and superlative forms Hurski fails to put the various methods of forming them into perspective. However, his treatment of the declension of adjectives and more especially of adjectival word-formation is excellent and more than compensates for the above-mentioned imbalance.

Numerals (pp. 179-203) and pronouns (pp. 203-23) are examined in considerable detail both as regards the derivation of modern forms and their declension in the modern East Slavonic languages. The syntactical relationship of numerals with nouns (but not with adjectives and verbs) are also dealt with at some length. Indefinite numeral-words (e.g. Russ. *столько, мало*; Byelo. *столькі, мала*; Ukr. *стільки, мало*) are excluded from the category of numeral on the grounds that they only function as numerals in certain constructions and morphologically are more closely associated with pronouns or adverbs (p. 180), and there is some justification for this. Less convincing is Hurski's explanation (p. 215) of the pronunciation of the Russian adjectival and pronominal ending (-ero) as -о-о (е-о) as resulting from the pronunciation of *r* as a fricative which in an unstressed position weakened and finally disappeared, leaving a hiatus between the two vowels o-o (e-o), which was resolved by the development of an intervocalic *в*. While it is true that such a phenomenon occurs in certain northern dialects of Russian characterised by *okańnie*, there is no evidence to suggest that these

dialects have influenced literary Russian, which is based on a dialect characterised by *akan'nie*. Furthermore, phonetic changes usually embrace stems as well as endings (unless, of course, analogy or contamination inhibit this) but the phenomenon under discussion is confined to this one particular form. It therefore seems more probable that the explanation of it is to be found in morphological analogy with the masc. and neuter gen. sing. form of possessive adjectives of the type *братова, зятева* etc. (see P. Ja. Černykh, *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 211-12).

The section on the verb (pp. 223-51) gives particular prominence to the prefixal and suffixal word-formation of aspectual forms, although no distinction is drawn between instances where prefixation has a purely perfectivising function and those where the prefix adds to the lexical meaning of a verb. There is also rather less treatment of the historical background of verb forms than is the case in the work as a whole: the historical development of the aspect system is covered in one short paragraph and there is nothing on the two stems (infinitive and present tense) or on the relationship of the modern classification of verbs on the basis of two types of present tense conjugation to the older

classification into five classes according to the present tense stem. Hurski is also surely mistaken when he asserts (p. 235) that in the modern East Slavonic languages only two athematic verbs survive: Russ. *есть, дать*, Byelo. *есці, даць*, Ukr. *істи, дати* (and compounds). It is true that no other *simple* athematic verb survives but modern Ukrainian does have compounds of the Old Russian athematic verb *вѣдѣти* and these are still conjugated athematically, e.g. *відповісти — відповім, відповіси, відповість, відповімо, відповіте, відповідать*.

The sections on adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, particles and interjections (pp. 251-9) consist mainly in lists of words, with some grouping into general subdivisions. Adverbs are also examined from the point of view of their derivation from other parts of speech, and the few variations between Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian in case usage with certain prepositions (e.g. *по/на, за, перед/перед*) are briefly discussed.

Altogether this is an admirable, scholarly book and should serve as an excellent source of material for scholars working in the field of comparative Slavonic language studies, both historical and modern.

P. J. Mayo

Kacer, M. *Narodno-prikladnoje iskusstvo Belorussii* (ot pervobytnogo obščestva do 1917 g.). 'Vyšejšaja škola', Minsk, 1972. 173 pp. Illustrations.

To readers acquainted with Professor Kacer's past work and diligent research as an art historian, the present work, devoted to the popular applied arts in Byelorussia, will come as no disappointment. The field he covers is extensive: 'The work tells of those most beautiful and delicate masterpieces of the popular applied arts — the silk-girdles of Shuck and tapestries of Kareličy, Ciełachany ceramics and Urečča glassware — of the makers of these and many other artistic objects, — of the talented folk-artists whose works to this day adorn the architectural monuments and museums of the Soviet Union' (p. 5). Following the chronology adopted in his earlier work *Izobrazitel'noje iskusstvo Belorussii* (Minsk 1969, reviewed JBS, II,

238-9) Kacer distinguishes a primitive period (pre-11th century), a period of what he calls the 'West Russian' principalities (pace Professor Karskij), a formative period of Byelorussian folk art (14th-16th centuries), the 17th century, the 18th century, and finally the 19th and early 20th centuries. The scope of his study broadens over the latter periods to include, in addition to pottery, ornaments, household utensils and religious *objets d'art*, items such as furniture, ecclesiastical plate, iconostases, wood-carving, textiles, embroidery, folk-costumes, lace and tapestry-work, toys, glassware, tiles and figurines, wrought-ironwork, Easter eggs, Christmas puppet-theatres (*batlejka*), and popular musical instruments.

Many of the objects he describes

will not be particularly novel to the average amateur of Byelorussian art, though it is impressive as well as instructive to gain an overall view of so many different fields in a single work. What is of particular value is the insight given into a number of areas which had hitherto been shrouded in calculated, if not embarrassed obscurity. There are for example, welcome sections on chalices, on the ornamental woodwork of iconostases (though not, alas, on icons), and on tapestry. However, a vast amount still remains to be brought to light.

Those unfamiliar with Professor Kacer's privy thoughts may be tempted to take issue with him, for example over his portrayal of the Byelorussian principalities in the 11th-13th centuries as 'West Russian',

particularly as the evidence which he offers in support of this patently official nomenclature, is very feeble and lacks conviction. To say, as the author does, that 'the art of the West Russian principalities has much in common with the art of the East Slavonic tribes' (p. 18), is something of a truism, and certainly proves nothing at all. Perhaps that is precisely what the learned author intended.

Nevertheless, Kacer's work is an admirable synthesis of the very numerous and varied fields of Byelorussian folk art, and brings yet more clearly into focus the hitherto somewhat blurred outline of his country's cultural heritage.

G. Picarda

Krivickij, A. M., Mikhnevich, A. Je., Podlužnyj, A. I. *Belorusskij jazyk dlja nebelorussov*. 'Vyšejšaja škola', Minsk, 1973. 272 pages.

'A practical handbook for all those who wish to learn to understand spoken and written Byelorussian' is the official catalogue-style description of this book on the reverse of the title page. There can be no doubt as to the qualification of the authors, three of the most important contemporary Byelorussian linguists, to write such a handbook. In the preface they state that the book is the result of increased interest in the Byelorussian language both within and outside the Soviet Union. They go on to say that it is not a textbook for a 'vuz' course on Byelorussian, although it could be used for a course on comparative Slavonic philology or a course on Byelorussian language in non-Byelorussian 'vuzy'.

The book has self-imposed limitations. It does not set out to be a complete grammar of all aspects of Byelorussian, since that would obviously be in conflict with its primary function as a textbook to enable foreigners to learn the language. Since it is written in Russian, the assumption has been made that the reader will be familiar with the grammar of Russian, and the authors make use of that knowledge in compiling what amounts to a comparative, and at times contrastive, study of Russian and Byelorussian. The authors are probably right in assuming that most students of Byelorussian already know Russian, but it

must be asked whether a completely comparative approach is pedagogically correct in a textbook for foreigners.

The chapter on phonetics and pronunciation, complete with palatograms and photographs of lip positions, could well stand on its own as a detailed study of Byelorussian phonetics. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the author of the chapter is A. I. Padlužnyj, whose *Huki biełaruskaj movy*, written in collaboration with A. V. Čekman, appeared last year and is reviewed elsewhere in this issue of JBS. While there may be some justification for the detail in the need to differentiate between Russian and Byelorussian articulation of both vowels and consonants, there is also the very real danger that the learner is presented at once with a vast amount of unassimilable data.

Much the same could be said of the section dealing with morphology. Huge lists of words are presented to the reader to deal with as best he can, often divided into strange and instantly forgettable categories, e.g. 'predmetnosti kak javlenija, ob'ekty, zaključajuščije v sebe priznaki drugih predmetnostej;... javlenija, predstavljajuščije soboj besporjadocnyje dejstvija i dr.' — this particular group contains the words *navina, jalavičyna* and *stralanina*. To be fair some of these lists are given to

demonstrate the usage of various noun-forming suffixes, such as *-ina*, but just how useful are they in learning a foreign language, and what on earth does 'i dr.' refer to? Similar lists are given for adjectives. Verbs are divided into productive (four) and non-productive (six) classes. The syntax section follows the traditional pattern of Soviet textbooks, relying throughout on comparison with Russian. The book finishes with a selection of Byelorussian texts, a short Russian-Byelorussian vocabulary, and a number of common phrases in Russian and Byelorussian.

What we have here is a thoroughgoing analysis of Byelorussian on the basis of a comparison with Russian. Of particular interest here are the sections on phonetics (pp. 14-45) and syntax (pp. 149-229), particularly the paragraphs on participles and syntactic synonymy. Quite correctly the authors have here chosen examples which show Russian and Byelorussian at their most divergent. All these points make for an excellent survey of the language, but not, unfortunately, for a really adequate textbook for non-Byelorussians. The first improvement that could be brought about would be to discard the Russian-Byelorussian vocabulary in favour of one going the other way. The morpho-

logy section would profit greatly by considerable simplification, if only by cutting out the endless succession of word lists, and the treatment of Byelorussian, phonetics could be made more basic, without sacrificing scientific exactitude. In defence of the authors it should be said that no one in Byelorussia can be expected to have the kind of experience necessary for the compilation of a textbook for foreigners. One only has to look at the Russians with their methodological centre and their journal *Russkij jazyk za rubežom* (in addition to the journals concerned with the teaching of Russian to non-Russian citizens of the USSR) to see that, with much more experience and expertise to hand, the 'perfect' Russian language textbook has still not been produced. In view of the different requirements and standards of potential learners, it is doubtful whether one ever could be.

It is a sad reflection on someone's excessively modest view of the increased interest on an international scale in Byelorussian that only 2,000 copies of this book were printed. It may not be entirely satisfactory, but it is at least a textbook — and already unobtainable.

J. Dingley

Krymava, I. (ed.) *Mastak i kniha*. 'Biełaruś', Minsk, 1973. 84 pages. Illustrations.

In a country whose heritage in the field of plastic art has been subjected to systematic pillage and destruction over the centuries, book-illustration as an art-form takes on a particular importance. Through it the historian can retrace the style and development of graphic art in Byelorussia, even though many of the finest examples of iconography and mural paintings have not survived.

The origins of Byelorussian graphic art go back to the Bible printed by Francis Skaryna, between 1517 and 1525, which contains a number of masterly engravings by the great humanist himself. Nor was there any lack of refined and vigorous talent in the 17th century schools of engraving in Vilna, Jeije, Mahiloŭ and Kucieina. However, with the decline of Byelorussian printing in the 18th and 19th centuries, came a corresponding

eclipse of book-illustration as an art, though able artists such as A. Bartels (1818-1885) and S. Bohuš-Siestrancevič (1869-1927) maintained and promoted a tradition of classical realism which effectively dominated the beginnings of Byelorussian art. From it the earlier Soviet artists such as E. Zajcaŭ (b. 1908), I. Davidovič (b. 1911) and J. Pučynski (b. 1922) evolved a somewhat sterile and parsimonious style of sketch-book realism which one inevitably associates with the cheap paper and poor bindings of Soviet books during the period immediately following on the Second World War.

It was not until the mid-50s that a more liberated and characteristic school of graphic art finally emerged, reaching back for its inspiration to Skaryna and the Vilna school, the traditions of folk wood- and linocuts,

and more particularly to the modernistic styles of Marc Chagall (b. 1887) and Barys Malkin (b. 1908).

The achievements of this talented group of young artists are recorded in this collection, which includes an introductory note by I. Nazimava, brief biographical notes on more than 40 artists, and a number of selected illustrations from their works. Despite brave attempts to update their style, there is a sharp contrast between the old protagonists of the socialist realist school such as I. Davidovič, M. Huciejŭ (b. 1912) and M. Bielski (b. 1921), and the younger artists, some of whom, in particular H. Paplaŭski (b. 1931), B. Zaborau (b. 1935) and

V. and M. Basalyha (1940, 1942), show quite outstanding ability. Clearly modern Byelorussian graphic art has come a long way since its hesitant beginnings in 1906, and one can entertain great hopes for its future.

It is unfortunate that the biographical notes are so brief, and that no particulars of the artists' place of birth are given. In view of the considerable number of illustrations for books by Russian authors, one is left with the surmise that, to give the collection the prevalently modish All-Union colour, more than just one or two non-Byelorussians may have been included.

G. Picarda

Łojka, A. A. *Biełaruskaja paezija pačatku XX stahodździa*. *Niekatoryja zakanamiernasci i asablivaści*. BDU, Minsk, 1972. 240 pages.

Professor Łojka is a prolific writer whose previous monographs include *Adam Mičkievič i biełaruskaja literatura* (1959), *'Novaja ziamla' Jakuba Kolasa* (1961), *Maksim Baħdanovič* (1966), and *Susrečy z dnioj siońniašnym* (a study of Soviet poetry: 1968). His latest book is devoted to the interval between the revolutions of 1905 and 1917, or, perhaps more helpfully, the 'Naša Niva period' (1906-1915), and aims to reveal certain general tendencies (*zakanamiernasci*) and individual features of the poetry of the time.

The concept of *zakanamiernasci* in literary criticism is apt to send a cold shiver down bourgeois spines, and indeed many crimes of misinterpretation have been committed in its name. Łojka's confessed intent is to show 'the growth of Byelorussian poetry from concern for the peasant to concern for all humanity', and he pursues this course with ruthless albeit misguided determination in his analyses of Kupala, Kolasa and Baħdanovič. This is particularly regrettable as the author himself is keenly aware of earlier travesties of criticism (*vulharna-sacyjalahizatarskaja krytyka*) and is quick to attack his predecessors for their crude generalisations.

The book is in twelve parts, principally devoted to Kupala's *Zaľejka*, *Huslar* and *Slacham žyćcia*, Kolasa's *Pieśni žalby*, and Baħdanovič's

Vianok, but also includes sections on 'mass poetry' (short and shaky), 'poetry and folklore' (nothing new, except an unsuccessful attempt to treat Baħdanovič's *viersi biełaruskaha skladu* from a thematic rather than formal viewpoint), 'the establishment of a national (school of) translation' (quite an interesting short analysis of Baħdanovič's efforts in this direction), and finally 'the search for a narrative poem'. The latter section typifies 'the book as a whole, for whilst providing a good detailed description of the movement of Kupala, Kolasa and (in Łojka's view) Baħdanovič towards a *paema* and 'epic' style, the section is ruined by unnecessary generalisation, and particularly the assumption that the concept of narrative poem or epic is mysteriously but inextricably linked with heroism, national self-awareness, politics and revolution.

Baħdanovič, in one guise or another, takes up over half of the book, and yet he is the poet with whom Łojka seems least happy. He is ill served by the author's tortuous ideological manoeuvres and frequent attempts to prove a negative; nor is there a great deal of new factual material to add to the earlier monograph. One 'new' revelation supposedly made in *Potymia* in 1958 (concerning Baħdanovič's views on Ziaziula: pp. 147-8) was in fact published by Anton Navina (Łuckievič) in 'Z niedrukavanaje spadčynny pa M. Baħdanoviču', *Hada-*

vik *Bielaruskaha navukovaha tavarystva*, 1 (1933). Other inaccuracies include the suggestion (p. 147) that the paper *Biellarus* began to be published in 1909, and that the references to Ziaziula came from an article of 1911 attacking it, whereas the first number of *Biellarus* appeared only in 1913.

In view of the profusion of existing books on the poetry of this period — surely the richest in the whole of Byelorussian literature — it may be wondered whether 'there was need

for another generalising study at all. However, the patient reader may find some interest in the analysis of individual books and phenomena, particularly in the sections dealing with Kupala and Kolas, provided he can disregard the book's obsession with *thèse*, and its conventionally rhetorical style, peppered with leaders and exclamation marks. There is no index, and the bibliography is laughingly described as 'in the footnotes'.

Arnold B. McMillin

McMillin, A. B. *The Vocabulary of the Byelorussian Literary Language in the Nineteenth Century*. The Anglo-Byelorussian Society, London, 1973. 336 pages.

This work, the author's doctoral thesis at the University of London, makes a significant contribution in a field which until recently had received scant attention from scholars of Byelorussian linguistics. The author himself, in a review published in *JBS*, II, 3, 1971, pp. 316-7, drew attention to this deficiency and it is therefore highly appropriate that he should have thus taken the initiative in attempting to rectify the situation.

After a bibliography of primary sources (i.e. the 19th-century texts which form the basis of this study, some 120 in all), secondary sources, dictionaries and bibliographies, we come to the main body of the work, which consists of three sections: Part I, Introduction (pp. 26-44), Part II, Vocabulary (pp. 45-262) and Part III, Statistics and Conclusions (pp. 263-89).

The Introduction contains a survey of lexicological and lexicographical work relating to the Byelorussian language of the 19th century. This is of necessity brief, since, as has been pointed out earlier, very little has been done in this field, and even in those works which have appeared the material studied has often been chosen on a highly selective basis. In addition research was for a long time seriously hampered by the inaccessibility of many primary sources, and this inevitably led to inaccuracies. Such criticisms certainly cannot be levelled at the author of the present work, which is based on an examination of all the printed and manuscript texts currently available.

Dr. McMillin next sets out the aims of his work. These are: to show the incidence and usage of individual words; to establish the first occurrence of each word; to show the relationship of the vocabulary of the 19th-century language (in the broad sense of 'written language') to that of the Russian, Ukrainian and Polish literary languages and, in some measure, dialects; to attempt to ascertain the significance of geographical and other factors for individual writers and texts; to assess the use of Russicisms, Ukrainianisms, Polonisms and unrecorded forms; and finally to make some comparison between the 19th-century literary vocabulary and that of the modern language.

The Introduction is concluded by an outline of Byelorussian literature in the 19th century (previously published in *JBS*, II, 3, 1971, pp. 271-80), which gives biographical information about the authors and generally places them and their works in their historical context.

The Vocabulary comprises an examination of 3,378 words, which are grouped semantically according to the principles of Roget's Thesaurus. They represent in fact only *abstract* vocabulary, and although in the Introduction (p. 29) the author gives perfectly valid reasons for thus restricting the scope of his study, it would perhaps have been more accurate for the book to be entitled 'The Abstract Vocabulary of the Byelorussian Literary Language in the Nineteenth Century', since with the present title anyone wishing to order

the book could be forgiven for assuming that it covered the whole spectrum of vocabulary.

The slightly less than accurate title should not, however, be allowed to detract from the book's fundamental excellence. The entries are clearly the product of painstaking and meticulous research. Each word in the Vocabulary is followed by: its meaning where this varies from that in the English heading; the text(s) in which it is found; the context, where necessary; the languages (Byelorussian, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish) and/or dictionaries in which it is found; appropriate comparison and comment. Synonyms are occasionally treated together under one entry rather than being listed separately (e.g. *mysl* and *dumka*), but the inclusion in the book of an excellent Index means that this is no barrier to the speedy location of entries. Separate entries are given for imperfective and perfective verbs, with cross-references where appropriate. Perhaps the abundant use of abbreviations makes the entries less than easy to read at times without constant reference to the list of abbreviations given at the beginning of the book, but it is difficult to see how this can be avoided in a work of this nature, since in many cases not to use abbreviations would mean doubling or even trebling the size of an entry without in any way increasing the amount of information given.

Part III — Statistics and Conclusions — incorporates a wealth of statistical data with tables showing all the permutations of the relationship between the abstract vocabulary of Byelorussian and that of Ukrainian, Russian and Polish. Table 1 shows the total number of words in any group (e.g. words which are literary in Byelorussian and Polish but not in Russian and Ukrainian), and in Table 2 these same numbers are expressed as percentages of the total number of words in the relevant chapter of the Vocabulary. Tables 3-9 show the occurrence of lexical borrowings from Russian, Ukrainian and Polish and of unrecorded forms in individual texts. There are also three diagrams which attempt to demonstrate the influence of geographical factors on the writers' vocabulary: the incidence of Russicisms, Polonisms and unrecorded forms (but not, curiously, of Ukra-

inianisms) is examined in relation to the basic dialect of the writer in whose works they occur, in terms of distance west or east of Minsk. However, one can draw only very tentative conclusions here since the diagrams show no clear patterns, and the author admits as much in limiting himself to a few general observations.

There follows an Appendix (pp. 290-7) containing eight tables which illustrate the incidence of Russicisms, Ukrainianisms, Polonisms and unrecorded forms in the works of Dunin-Marcinkievič, the only 19th-century Byelorussian writer whose work the author considers to extend over a sufficient period for its language to show any development, though it seems to this reviewer that the works of Alaksandr Jelski, albeit less numerous than those of Dunin-Marcinkievič, might provide a basis for a similar comparison. The Appendix also includes three diagrams showing the chronological development of the above-mentioned features in the works of Dunin-Marcinkievič over the period 1846-1866. A clearer pattern emerges here than in the case of the geographical factors examined earlier, with both Russicisms and Polonisms at their peak in the middle period (1856-9) and declining, in the case of Polonisms quite sharply, thereafter, while unrecorded forms occur most frequently in Dunin-Marcinkievič's early works, thereafter showing a gradual decline, though a slight reversal of this trend is observable in the later period (1860-6).

The work concludes with a comprehensive Index (pp. 298-335) of all the words from the 19th-century texts found in the Vocabulary. Its usefulness is marred only by the fact that no distinction is made between the occurrence of words as entries and their occurrence as part of an illustrative context. To take an example at random: having looked up *zrabit* in the Index and found references to pp. 93, 126, 134 and 152 one was somewhat puzzled at first to find that only on p. 126 did it figure as an entry. Only a closer scrutiny of the four pages referred to revealed that it did in fact occur on all four, but in three instances under the entries for *skazač* (p. 93), *tleč* (p. 134) and *dyktatar* (p. 152), for which it had no special significance. Perhaps a

notation of the type (93), 126, (134), (152) and an explanatory note at the beginning of the Index would have obviated this confusion.

However, such minor criticisms become insignificant when viewed in the perspective of the work as a whole. Dr. McMillin's study is a major achievement in an area of

Ulaščik, N. N. *Očerki po arkheografii i istočnikovedeniju istorii Belorussii feodal'nogo perioda*. 'Nauka', Moscow, 1973. 303 pages. Indexes. Illustrations.

There have surely been few works published in recent years that have more deserved the attention of the historian of Byelorussia than this one. The author has succeeded in amassing a vast amount of archival and bibliographical data, and putting it into a form that is both informative and, surprising as it may seem, entertaining.

Ulaščik makes it quite clear in the introduction that he is primarily concerned with a description of those publications which contain archival material on Byelorussia proper. He therefore includes a discussion on the kind of terminology devised during the 19th century to describe Byelorussia, as distinct (if it was distinguished at all) from ethnic Lithuania, Poland or Russia proper, and on the political considerations involved.

The book is divided into three chapters. Chapter I lists the publications of the period 1824-1862 (including the *Akty Zapadnoj Rossii* and the *Sbornik Mukhanova*). Chapter II deals with the most important period in the development of Byelorussian historiography and of the study of related archives, 1864-1915. The author describes in detail the activities of the 'Vilenskaja arkheografičeskaja komissija' and the collections of documents it produced. Attention is also paid to the relevant volumes in the series *Akty Južnoj i Zapadnoj Rossii* and *Russkaja Istoričeskaja biblioteka*. In general the collections in the second chapter are divided between those which emanated from government-inspired bodies (such as the Vilna commission just mentioned) and those compiled and produced by private persons, e.g. the *Vitebskaja starina* and S. A. Beršadskij's *Arkhiv*. Chapter III takes the listing and analysis of publica-

Byelorussian studies which has been sadly neglected, and can be highly recommended to anyone with an interest in Byelorussian lexicology or indeed Byelorussian linguistics in general. Furthermore, at the remarkably low price of £2 it represents extremely good value for money.

P. J. Mayo

tions into the Soviet period; the last series to be included is the *Historyja Bielarusi ŭ dakumientach i materyjalach*, vol. 1 of which appeared in 1936, and vol. 2 (with the series title amended to *Dakumienty i materyjaly pa historyi Bielarusi*) in 1940. There is no bibliography apart from the footnotes, but perhaps the whole book should be regarded as a bibliography with exhaustive commentary on each entry, arranged in chronological order of publication.

Ulaščik is concerned primarily with the way in which archives were chosen (often at random), the editorial principles adhered to, publication cost, and so on. He succeeds in establishing the authorship of many of the lengthy prefaces which were a feature of several important 19th-century series. This makes the book a fascinating study of the way in which history is written. The author's own talent as historian (he received his training during the *Imbielkult* period) comes to the fore in his criticism of the shortcomings of many members of the Vilna commission, among whom were to be found true amateurs only in the sense that they loved the salary attached to their post, and in his side-swipes at the Polish historian Miennicki. It also shows in occasional lengthy but always interesting discussions of the actual archives and what they contain, in addition to the collections in which they appeared. Thus the reader is treated to a detailed account of the income and expenditure of Mahilou on pp. 184-5, and to the fact that the cripples of the same town were apparently organized in a 'union', being under the control of 'kaleckije starosty'. On p. 194 we learn of a divorce being granted 'z nedobroho mešan'ja', and elsewhere there is an account of a

monastery which raised a band of mercenary soldiers to attack a nunnery. Points of primary importance for the study of Byelorussian history are also raised by Ulaščik in his brief discussion of the various Byelorussian units of measure, and in his careful distinction between the terms 'mirnyj sud' and 'kopnyj sud'. These points are of course necessitated by his analysis of the inaccuracies in the compilation under discussion. Heavy irony is surely present on p. 271. Here the author is discussing I. I. Jakovkin's compilation *Zakonodatel'nyje akty Velikogo knjažestva Litovskogo XV-XVI vv.* (published as part of the series *Dokumenty i materialy po istorii narodov SSSR* in Leningrad, 1936). He points out that Jakovkin's bibliography omits to mention I. I. Lappo's vitally important *Litovskij statut 1588 g., t. 1. Issledovanie*, č. 1. 'It is possible', says Ulaščik, 'that Lappo's work, which appeared in Kaunas in 1934, had not managed to reach Leningrad by 1936'. There is irony too when he describes the 1926 congress of research workers in Byelorussian archives and archaeology as the (first and so far only) congress of its type.

The author's asides are occasionally surprising, or even mildly irritating. In discussing a document of 1688, he adds that it mentions the village of Žoldino, 'where the BelAZ car factory is now'. A then-and-now comparison is probably intended, but it is tempting to wonder how many Soviet readers of this book know where Žoldino actually is and what it is like with a car factory, let alone what it was like without one in 1688. Excessive space is devoted on pp. 237-8 to berating Sapunov for translating Polish *Podlasie* as *Poles'e*, a mistake which ought to be self-evident to most, if not all, of his readers. Similarly, do we really

need to be told that Polish 'z' = Russian 'з', whereas 'ż' = 'ж'?

A much larger question mark hangs over the assumption that it is possible, or indeed desirable, to separate the history of Byelorussia, particularly in the 15th-17th centuries, from the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a whole. The title of Chapter II of vol. 1 of the series *Historyja Bielarusi ŭ dakumientach i materyjalach* is indicative of the problem: 'Obrazovanie Velikogo knjažestva Litovskogo na territorii Litvy i Belorussii'. In real terms this is putting the cart before the horse — the Grand Duchy preceded the arrival on the political scene of both Lithuania and Byelorussia. Any historian of the Grand Duchy faces the enormous task of gathering together material which, for reasons which have little to do with historical reality, has been hived off in a number of different directions. At least in the case of Byelorussia he has been well served by Ulaščik. The author emerges as a man who writes with enthusiasm about the history of his native country; it is not for nothing that the book opens with the famous verse by Kupała which begins:

Ad pradžiadou spakon viakoŭ
Mnie zastalasia spadčyna;
Moreover he writes without any apparent ideological adherence, other than that of scholarly precision, which would tend to colour his judgements. There is no doubt that this book will be of great service to historians of Byelorussia and of the whole Grand Duchy of Lithuania for a long time to come. It is not only an invaluable bibliographical tool, but also a fascinating study of the 19th- and 20th-century pioneers of Byelorussian historical science.

J. Dingley

Plato. *Gorgias*. Z hreckaha tekstu na bielaruskiju movu peraklaŭ, papieredziŭ uvodzinami i ahledziŭ kamentarami Jan Piatroŭski. Z dadatkam hrecka-bielaruskaha sloŭnika. 'Byelorussian Charitable Educational Fund', Gainesville (Fla.), 1973. 149, 101 pages.

The attention of everyone interested in the development of Byelorussian culture should be drawn to the

pioneering work being carried out in Florida by Pastor Jan Piatroŭski. This volume is the third in the series

of Plato's dialogues, translated into Byelorussian by him. The first volume appeared in 1967 and contained *The Defence of Socrates, Crito and Phaedo*. The second volume published in 1970, contained *Symposium and Ion*, and the first edition of the Greek-Byelorussian vocabulary, the second edition of which is bound with *Gorgias*.

The cultural level attained by a language and the people that use it can frequently be better judged by the works translated into it than by original works. When looking at works of literature of the 16th-century European Renaissance it is often quite impossible to draw the line between translation and original, simply

because the writers themselves did not differentiate. So it is that creative translations become part of the native cultural heritage. When the translations are of works of the great Greeks they become doubly important, because they introduce new readers to some of the most fundamental philosophical questions which still affect modern life (this is a point made by the translator in the introduction) and develop the language's powers of philosophical expression. Byelorussians everywhere owe a debt of gratitude to Pastor Piatroŭski for his unstinting efforts in making Plato speak their language.

J. Dingley

Selected Bibliography on Byelorussia

1973

The present bibliography follows the pattern of that in the last issue of *JBS*. It consists of a selection of new material received by the Francis Skaryna Library before May 1974. Most books were printed in 1973, but some more notable works from 1972, which arrived too late for last year's bibliography, are also included. Unless otherwise stated, the place of publication is Minsk and the year 1973.

I. BOOKS

Abbreviations of the names of Byelorussian publishing houses

- 'B' — 'Biełaruś'.
- 'BDU' — Vydaviečtva Biełaruskaha Džiaržaŭnaha Univiersiteta.
- 'DB' — Džiaržaŭnaja Biblijateka BSSR imia U. I. Lenina.
- 'ML' — 'Mastackaja literatura'.
- 'NA' — 'Narodnaja ašvieta'.
- 'NT' — 'Navuka i technika'.
- 'VŠ' — 'Vyšejšaja škola'.

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137. Łužanin, Maksim. *Rosy na kołasie*. Vieršy. 'ML'. 160 pp.
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139. Makajonak, Andrej. *Lavonicha na arbicie*. Kamiedyja. 'ML'. 88 pp. (Part of the series *Biblioteka biełaruskaj dramaturhii*.)
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143. Mielež, Ivan. *Ludzi na balocie*. Raman. 'ML'. 410 pp.
144. Mielež, Ivan. *Podych navalnicy*. Raman. 'ML'. 512 pp.
145. Miško, Pavieł. *Dreva žyćcia*. Narysy. 'ML'. 176 pp.
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147. Palčeŭski, Aleś. *Zapoźnieny pasah*. Apaviadaŭni i apowieść. 'ML'. 224 pp.
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154. Savicki, Aleś. *I ničoha ŭzamiem*. Apowieść. 'ML'. 296 pp.
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157. Skurko, Iosif. *Bačkoŭski paroh*. Vieršy. 'ML'. 112 pp.
158. Smaharovič, Mark. *Razvodždzie*. Liryka. 'ML'. 258 pp.
159. Šamiakin, Ivan. *Tryvožnae ščasćcie*. 'NA'. 576 pp. (A cycle of five novels: *Niepaŭtornaja viasna*, *Načnyja zarnicy*, *Ahoń i śnieh*, *Pošuki i sustrečy* and *Most*.)
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 176. Nazimava, I. *Michaił Andrejevič Savicki*. 'B'. 48 pp. Ill. (Summary in Russian and English.)

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177. Auerbach, L. *Dzimitryj Smolski. Siarhieŭ Kartes*. 'B'. 112 pp. Ill. (Part of the series *Našy kampazitary*.)
 *** *Bielaŭskija narodnyja pieśni*. See no. 36.
 178. Bučvičowski, J. *Vybranyja pieśni*. 'B'. 40 pp. Mus. notes. (Part of the series *Mastackaj samadziejnaści*.)
 179. Čilip, V. *Stroka, pročennaja teatrom*. 'NT'. 240 pp. Ill.
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 196. Stralcou, B. *Publicyścičnaść infarmacyjnych žanraŭ*. 'BDU'. 136 pp.

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 207. Vasilok, Michaś. *Vieršy*. 'ML'. 176 pp. (Part of the series *Biblioteka bielaŭskaj paezii*.)
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 209. Vialuhin, Anatol. *Vybranyja tvory ŭ dvuch tamach*. 'ML'.
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 Tom 2: Paemy, pierakłady, ese, žyćciopis. 288 pp.
 210. *Vypuŭčenie bielaŭskaj movy ŭ pieddahiečnych instytutach BSSR*. Materjały Respublikanskaha navukova-mietadychnaha sieminaru. Ed. by F. Jankouški et al. Minski Pieddahiečny Instytut. 177 pp. (Summaries of 79 papers on various aspects of training of teachers of Byelorussian, and teaching Byelorussian language in colleges of education.)

II. ARTICLES

Abbreviations of Periodical Titles

B	— <i>Bielaŭs</i> . Minsk. Monthly.
Bi	— <i>Bielaŭs</i> . New York. Monthly (nos. 189-200).
BL	— <i>Bielaŭskaja linhvistyka</i> . Minsk. 2 numbers a year (nos. 3, 4).
BS	— <i>Božym ślacham</i> . London. Quarterly.
JBS	— <i>The Journal of Byelorussian Studies</i> . London. Vol. III, no. 1. Once a year.
LiM	— <i>Litaratura i mastactva</i> . Minsk. Weekly.
M	— <i>Maładość</i> . Minsk. Monthly.
N	— <i>Niva</i> . Białyostok (Poland). Weekly.

- NA — *Narodnaja ašvieta*. Minsk. Monthly.
 P — *Potymia*. Minsk. Monthly.
 PHKB — *Pomniki historyi i kultury Bielarusi*. Minsk. Quarterly.
 VAN — *Vieści Akademii Navuk BSSR*. Seryja hramadskich navuk. Minsk. Bimonthly.
 VBDU-IV — *Viešnik Bielarskaha dziaŭžaŭnaha univiersiteta imia U. I. Lenina*. Seryja IV: filalohija, žurnalistyka, piedahohika, psichalohija. Minsk. 3 numbers a year.

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3. Nadson, A. 'Jeŭjeŭski bukvar 1618 h.', BS, 1, 3-9.
4. Nadson, A. 'Za dva hady (Krychu pra biblijateku i muzej imia Franciška Skaryny u Londanie), BS, 2, 10-13.
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10. Šmataŭ, V. 'Hraviury ŭ wydaŭniach Piatra Mściślaŭca', PHKB, 1, 24-7.
11. Tyčyna, A. 'Bielaruskii ekslibrys XVIII-XIX stst', PHKB, 1, 38-40.

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13. Čarniaŭski, M. 'Vobraz čalavieka ŭ najstarejšym mastactvie', PHKB, 4, 24-6.
14. Huryna, N. 'Kremniezdabyŭčyja šachty Bielarusi', PHKB, 1, 18-21.
15. Kamarou, M. 'Darohami staroj daŭniny', PHKB, 3, 54-7. (Archaeological research in Rahačou district.)
16. Kaziej, Ł. 'Ab paleapatalohii čalavieka, jak historyčnej krynicy (pa materijałach archiełahičnych raskopak)', VAN, 4, 116-21.
17. Pierchaŭka, V. 'Z historyi Stucka', PHKB, 4, 17-19.
18. Rabcevič, V., Stukanaŭ, A. 'Maniety arabskaha chalifata na terytoryi Bielarusi', PHKB, 4, 33-9.
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24. Łustač H. 'Likvidacyja nepiśmiennaści ŭ zachodnich ablaščiach', NA, 2, 85-7.
25. Miacielskaja, M. 'Tajnyja ściežki ŭ navuku', M, 3, 154-5. (Clandestine schools in Byelorussia in the late 19th — early 20th cent.)
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 206. Vatacy, N. '“Jana — vydumka majej hałavy...”', *M*, 8, 146-152. (Problem of identity of the prototype of Bahdanovič's 'Vieranika'.)

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207. Marcinovič, A. 'Z luboŭju i nianavišciu ziamnoju', *LiM*, 30, 5.

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 209. Jurevič, Ul. 'Patencyjał mužnaści', *LiM*, 8, 4-5.
 210. Šarupič, R. 'Hetak jany nas “vyvodziać u ludzi”', *Bi*, 192, 7. (On translations of Bykaŭ's works into Russian and English.)

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211. Škraba, R. 'Słova — što ŭ kołasie ziernie', *P*, 2, 162-81.

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212. Charkievič, A. 'Tekstaŭhičnaja zahadka', *LiM*, 1, 14-15. (On the novel *Pošuki budučyni*.)
 213. Škraba, R. 'Budynak u vialikim horadzie', *P*, 6, 220-37. (On the novel *Treciaje pakaleńnie*.)

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226. Kałubovič, A. 'Ja. Kołas i Ja. Kupała (Z uspaminaŭ)', *Bielaruskaja dumka*, South River (USA), 15, 7-12.
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 240. Šarupič, R. 'I jašče dva važnyja dakumanty', *Bi*, 197, 5. (Nos. 238-240 contain texts of Kupała's articles which were not included in the book: Kupała, *Ja. Publicystyka*, Minsk, 1972.)

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A. Nadson,
 Francis Skaryna Byelorussian Library,
 London.

Byelorussian Chronicle 1973

EVENTS IN BYELORUSSIA

A conference on the subject 'Typology and interrelations of Slavonic languages and literatures' was held in May at the Byelorussian State University in Minsk.

'Regional characteristics of Byelorussian language, literature and folklore' was the subject of the conference held in May at the University of Homiel.

In June the Janka Kupała Institute of Literature of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences held a seminar on the problems of the development of Byelorussian literature in the 1920s and 30s.

A symposium of translators of works of Byelorussian literature into the languages of the peoples of the USSR took place in October in Minsk.

A conference 'The Origin of the Byelorussian Nation' took place in December at the Institute of Ethnography of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences in Minsk.

A seminar of young writers, artists and scientists was held in September at the holiday camp 'Bryhancina' near Maladecna. There were 165 participants.

The director of the Byelorussian State Choir, Ryhor Šyrma, and the poet Piatruś Broŭka, were awarded the Bulgarian Order of Cyril and Methodius.

The President of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences, M. Barysevič, was awarded the Copernicus Medal by the Polish Academy of Sciences.

The poet Pimien Pančanka was awarded the title of 'People's Poet of Byelorussia'.

A festival of Soviet professional singers and instrumental musical ensembles took place in June in

Minsk. The first prize in the category of instrumental groups was won by the Byelorussian group 'Pieśniary'.

The Theatre of Musical Comedy in Minsk staged the premiere of the new operetta *Paŭlinka* by Jury Siemianika (libretto by Aleś Bačyla), based on the famous play of the same name by Janka Kupała.

Another adaptation of Kupała's *Paŭlinka* was the musical *Paśla kirmašu* (words by Andrej Makajonak, music by Jaŭhien Hlebaŭ) which was shown by Byelorussian television for the first time.

The Janka Kupała Theatre in Minsk staged the premiere of the new comedy *Tabletku pad jazyk* by Andrej Makajonak.

The new comedy *Amazonki* by Anatol Dzialendzik was produced by the Homiel theatre.

The Poetry Festival at Viazynka, Janka Kupała's native village, was held on 7th July. Apart from the several Byelorussian poets who took part in it (P. Broŭka, A. Bialevič, R. Baradulin, E. Ahniacviet, H. Buraŭkin, K. Cvirka, P. Makal, U. Paŭtaŭ, E. Łoś, Ja. Sipakoŭ, A. Viarcinski, A. Zarycki, and others) there were many other guests from Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and other countries.

The largest treasure of Arab dirhems in the USSR, consisting of about 8000 coins, was found by two schoolboys near the village of Kažjanki in the district of Polack. The coins are from the 8th and 9th centuries and come from Baghdad, Samarkand, Bokhara and other places mainly in Central Asia.

The town of Rahačoŭ in South-Eastern Byelorussia was first mentioned in the chronicles under the year 1142. The results of an archaeological expedition, organised jointly by the universities of Homiel and

Minsk show, however, that its origins should be taken further back to at least the beginnings of the 11th century.

The restoration of the famous 13th century keep 'Bielaja wieža' in Kamianiec in the Brest province has been completed. The keep is 20 metres high, has 5 floors and its walls are 2 m. 30 cm. thick. It will house a local historical and ethnographical museum.

The ethnographical expedition of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences worked all summer in the Babrujsk and Asipovič districts of the Mahiloŭ province and Puchavič district of the Minsk province. Altogether 12 villages were visited and 2000 new items of folklore recorded. The interesting point noted was that many traditional and hitherto unknown folk songs were recorded from young people, which seems to indicate that traditional folklore is still very much alive despite the changing social conditions in the modern Byelorussian village.

An interesting reed-pipe ensemble exists in the village of Hałoŭšycy in Homiel province. It was formed by a

teacher of the local school, Fiodar Malinoŭski, and among its members are his daughter Valancina and son-in-law Alaksandr Dorman, as well as some of his pupils. The repertoire of the ensemble consists of traditional Byelorussian folk tunes. It is well-known outside Hałoŭčny, both in Byelorussia and in the neighbouring districts of the Ukraine.

A folk-weaving circle, the only one in the country, exists at the Minsk Palace of Pioneers. Its members are recruited from among schoolchildren who learn the art of weaving traditional Byelorussian folk patterns.

One of the latest Soviet cosmonauts, Maj. Piotr Klimuk, who made the flight in the spaceship 'Sojuz 13' in December, is a Byelorussian. He was born in 1942 in the village of Kama-roŭka in Brest province, where his mother and other members of his family still live.

The famous Byelorussian actor Uładzimir Dziaŭdziuska died on 30th March. He was born in 1905. Practically all his professional career he was associated with the Janka Kupała Theatre in Minsk.

EVENTS ABROAD

A seminar on Byelorussian folklore of the Bielastok region was held in March at the University of Warsaw. Among the papers read were: 'Byelorussian folksongs in Federowski's *Lud Białoruski*' by A. Baršteŭski; 'Byelorussian dialects of the Bielastok region' by E. Smulkowa; and 'Children's folklore' by V. Sved.

Days of Byelorussian culture in Poland were held from 30th June to 7th July. They were marked by special events in Warsaw, Bielastok and other places, among them concerts by Byelorussian artists, showing Byelorussian films, and exhibitions of Byelorussian art, books, etc.

At a conference commemorating the 150th anniversary of the birth of the Polish poet Władysław Syrokomla, a native of Byelorussia, held in June in Inowrocław and Toruń, the following papers were read by Byelorussian

participants: A. Maldzis, 'Syrokomla and Byelorussian literature'; U. Marchiel, 'Byelorussian translations of Syrokomla's works'; and K. Cvirka, Syrokomla as ethnographer'.

At the VII International Congress of Slavists in Warsaw in August the following papers were presented by Byelorussian scholars: H. Bartaševič, K. Kabašnikau, 'The present-day state of Byelorussian folklore'; M. Biryła, V. Lemciuhova, 'Onomastic word-forming elements in East and West Slavonic languages'; V. Bandartyk, L. Małaś, 'Byelorussian ethnography and folklore in the works of Slavonic scholars from the period of romanticism'; V. Čekman, 'Genesis and evolution of the palatal row in Palaeoslavic'; U. Kazbiaruk, 'Traditions of Polish romanticism in the Byelorussian literature of the early 20th century'; A. Maldzis, 'Traditions of Polish enlightenment in the Byelo-

russian literature of the 19th century'; V. Martynau, 'Palaeoslav and Balto-Slavic suffix name derivation'; A. Suprun, 'Lexical combination in the Polabian language'; A. Żurański, I. Kramko, 'Character of relations of the Byelorussian literary language with other Slavonic languages during the initial period of its formation'. In addition to this, A. McMillin (London) read a paper entitled 'Foreign elements in the abstract vocabulary of V. I. Dunin-Marcinkievič, and H. Bieder (Salzburg), 'The Lithuania Statute of 1529 (notes on the historical orthography and phonetics of early Byelorussian official language)'. Papers by E. Smulkowa (Warsaw), F. Nieuważny (Warsaw), K. Gutschmidt (Berlin) and a few others also dealt to a large extent with Byelorussian material.

*

The 'Węgierki' Theatre in Bielsk produced the play *Trybunał* by the Byelorussian playwright Andrej Makajonak. The play met with considerable success, both in Bielsk, and later in Toruń and Katowice, when the theatre visited those cities. On the whole, Makajonak's *Trybunał* enjoys great popularity outside Byelorussia. It was produced in Sofia, Bulgaria, in Charkiv, Ukraine, and in the Malaja Bronnaja Theatre in Moscow. The Moscow Theatre of Satire produced the premiere of Makajonak's new comedy *Tabletku pad jazyk* a few months before it was staged in Byelorussia.

*

A memorial to Janka Kupała was unveiled at Arrow Park near New York on 1st July. At the unveiling ceremony the sculptor, A. Anikiejčyk, and the playwright A. Makajonak from Minsk were present.

*

An exhibition to mark the 90th anniversary of the birth of Janka Kupała and Jakub Kołas was held at the New York Public Library from 1 March to 15 May.

Another Byelorussian exhibition on the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania took place at the same library from 15 December, 1973 to 27 February, 1974.

*

A symposium on Byelorussian

emigré literature was held at Queens College of the New York City University. The following papers were read: V. Kipiel, 'Belorussia in American Libraries'; A. Adamovič, 'V. Lastoŭski'; U. Siadura, 'Byelorussian theatre in emigration'; J. Zaprudnik, 'Ryhor Krušyna'; J. Sadoŭski, 'Byelorussian emigré writers in Canada'; and Z. Jurjeva, 'Poetry of Masiej Siadnoŭ'.

*

On the initiative of the Byelorussian Institute of Arts and Sciences, an exhibition of works of Byelorussian artists abroad was held in New York from 9 December, 1973 to 3 February, 1974. Altogether 19 artists exhibited their works, among them the sculptor M. Naumovič, the painters Ul. Symaniec, Ivonne Surviła, Iryna Rahalevič, Halina Rusak, J. Kažłakoŭski and others.

*

A doctoral thesis on the history of literary links between Georgia and Byelorussia has been written at Tbilisi University. The author, K. Kvachiankaradze, collected much interesting material, such as that on early translations into Georgian of works of the 12th century Byelorussian ecclesiastical writer St. Cyril of Turaŭ, and on the sojourn in Georgia of the 19th century Byelorussian poets F. Savič and J. Łučyna. Special chapters are devoted to the theme of Georgia in modern Byelorussian literature, and to the translation into Byelorussian of the poem *Knight in a tiger skin* by Shota Rustaveli.

*

At the eighth course of lectures on Byelorussian culture, organised in London by the Anglo-Byelorussian Society, during the academic year 1973-74 the following papers were read: G. Picarda, 'The origins of contemporary graphic art'; H. Leeming, 'The language of the Kucieina *Novy Zavet* (1652)'; A. Nadson, 'Byelorussian prayer-books for laymen in the 16th and 17th centuries'; R. Sussex, 'Transformational grammar and Byelorussian linguistics'; J. Dingley, 'The poet Aleś Harun'; R. A. French, 'The development of urbanisation in Byelorussia'.

*

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IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

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